AUGUSTO PINOCHET ★ IDI AMIN ★ ADOLF HITLER ★ BENITO MUSSOLINI ★ SADDAM HUSSEIN ★ POL POT ★ STALIN

DICTATORS

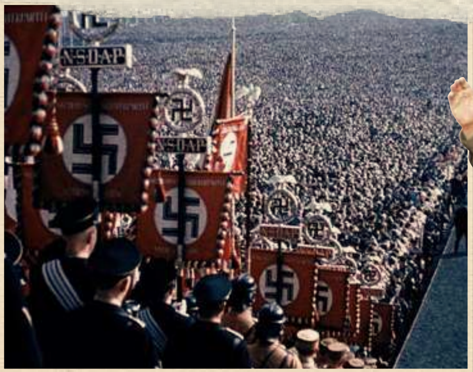
From the makers of
ALL ABOUT HISTORY

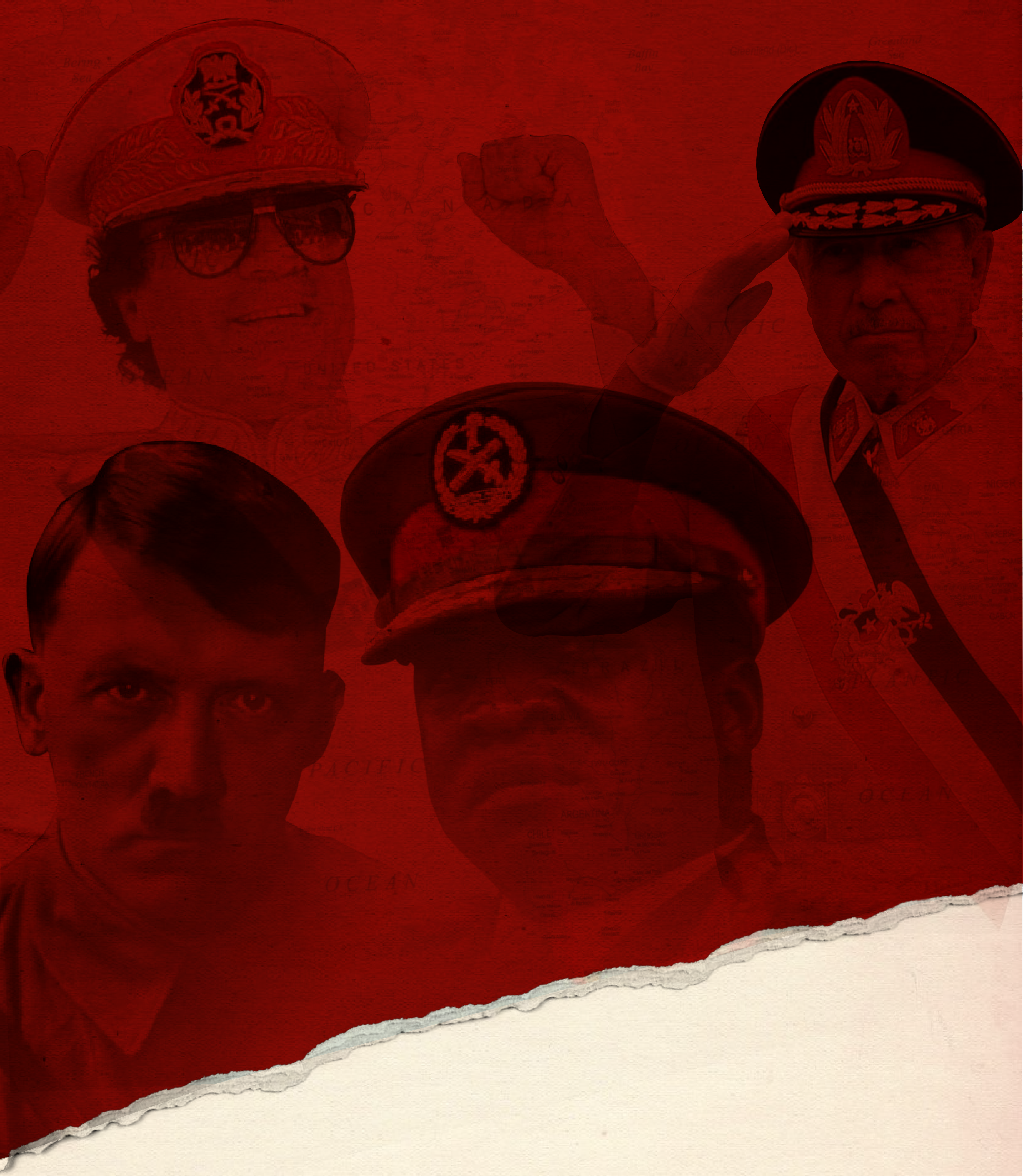
THE TYRANTS THAT RULED THROUGH TOTAL FEAR

Digital Edition

FUTURE

FIRST EDITION





DICTATORS

They are the people who rose up and snatched power away from established governments, through violence or through political means, and they would do more or less anything to stay at the top. Whether that's using censorship and terror to cow the people into submission, banning political opponents or even wiping out their enemies altogether, to a dictator the ends will always justify the means. In this book, you'll learn about some of the 20th century's most ruthless rulers, experience what life was like under their iron fists, and find out where dictatorial regimes still exist today.

FUTURE

DICTATORS

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HISTORY
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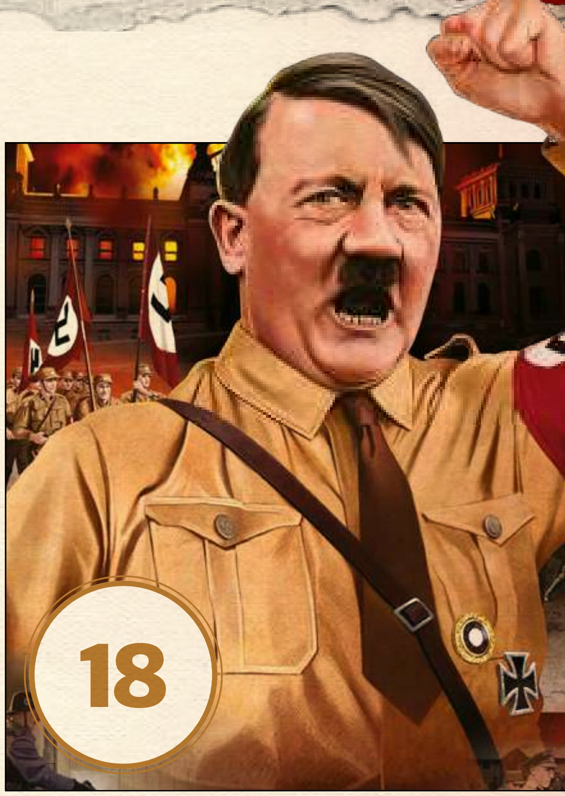

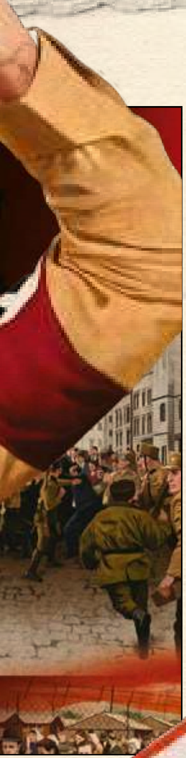

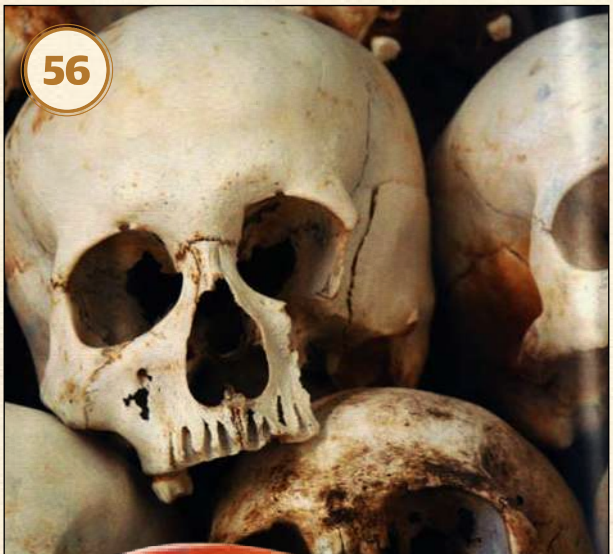

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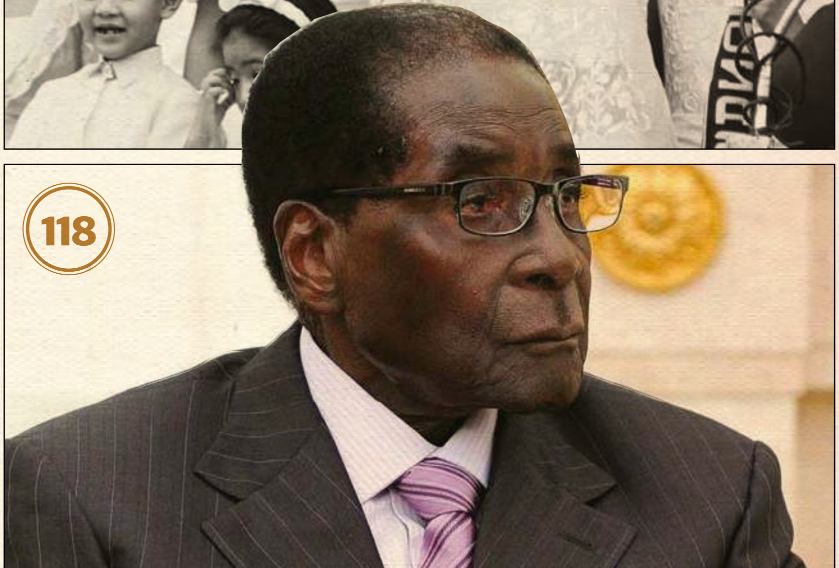

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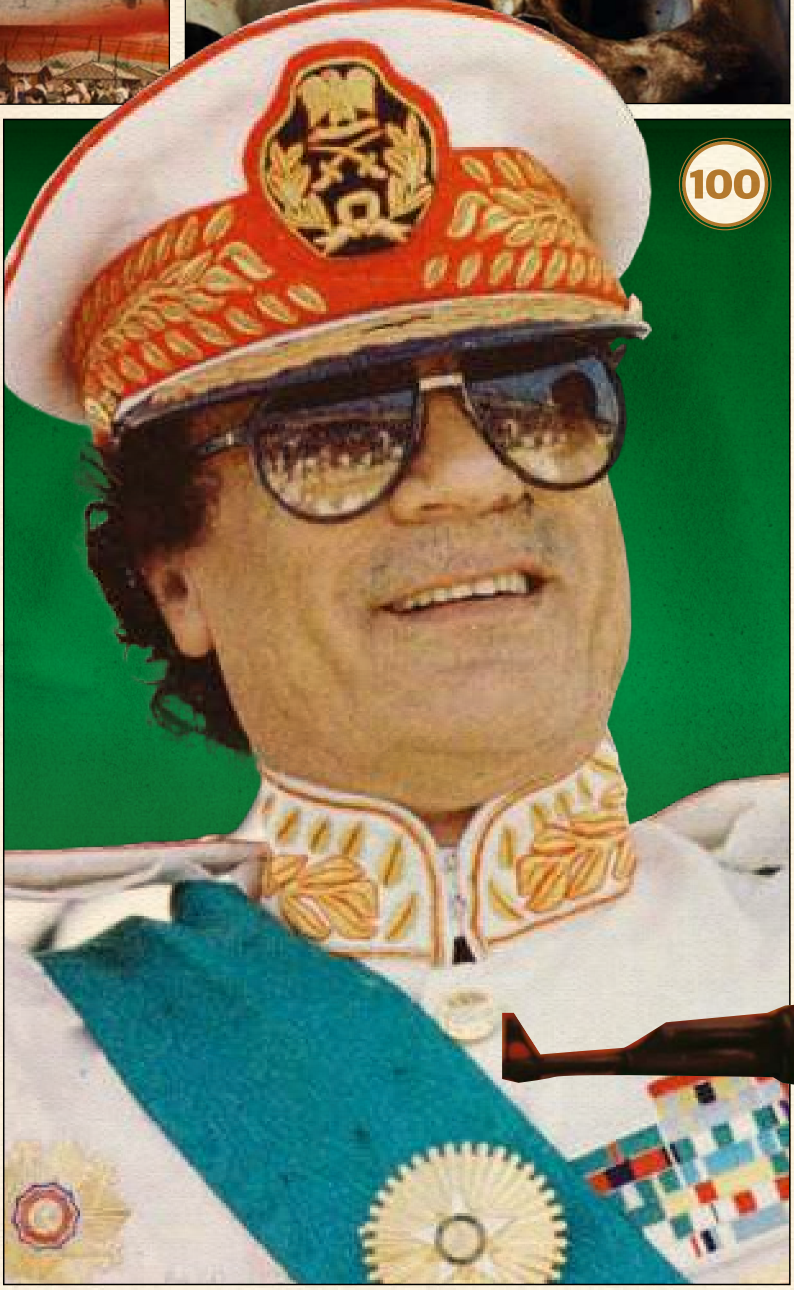

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WHAT MAKES

Opportunity, ambition and ego combine to

There have been many dictators over the centuries. The modern era has seen, and continues to see, a number of dictators around the world that continue to exist and even thrive. On the surface they may seem very different - different countries, different cultures and different ambitions. Yet there are a number of factors that link all these different rulers together; characteristics and circumstances which have played a major role in making them what they are, influencing what they do and how the rest of the world sees them. Many - if not all - of these are negative and so it is that the very use of the word 'dictator' is to describe a tyrannical ruler who wields absolute power over a country and its citizens - often in a brutal fashion, with nothing but their own ambitions at heart.

This was not always the case though, and if we go back to the very beginnings of the concept of a 'dictator' it tells a very different story. As a Republic, ancient Rome was ruled by consuls. However, they did see the need from time to time, when an emergency such as a rebellion or war threatened, that it would be far better in a crisis for one person - in this case a judge or magistrate - to be given temporary absolute power over all others, making the decisions and taking the lead. By doing so they were acting with the consent of the people - that is to say, like most early democracies, those who had the say and had a voice were not the entire population, only those who had the privileges, social standing and usually money in order to do so.

The important thing to remember, however, is that this was always a temporary measure, with originally a maximum of six months duration in order to see off a particular crisis. It is true that over a short time one person could make decisions more quickly and more decisively. But to put such power and authority in the hands of one individual was to invite a corruptible and corrupted office, and in time the whole system of republican representation was to be overturned. Lucius Sulla (138-78 BCE) was the first to have no limit to his office or his power, and following on

A DICTATOR?

create absolute and deadly power

WRITTEN BY:
DAVID J WILLIAMSON

from him Julius Caesar (100-44 BCE), whose name has become synonymous with not only a position of great power but also the creation of a dynasty of rulers linked by family ties in much the same way as hereditary kings. It was he who set about abolishing the Republic and creating an empire.

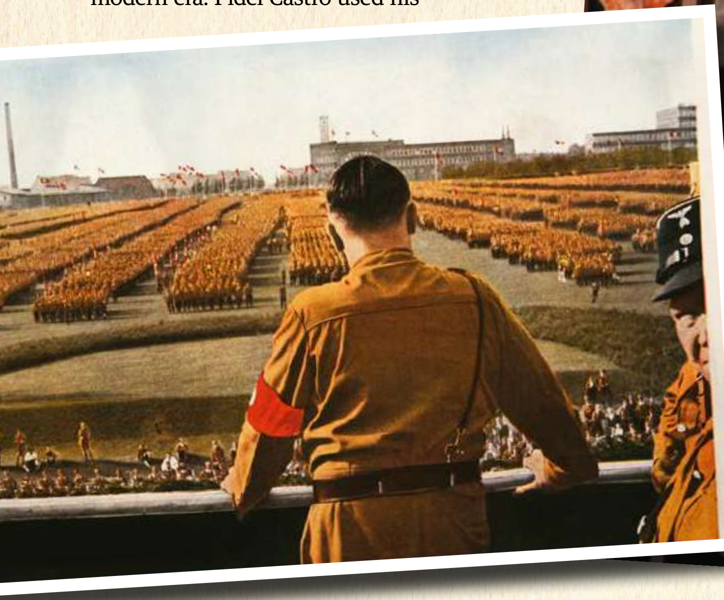
It cannot be ignored that the early monarchies were in themselves a form of dictatorship, with the king having absolute power over their subjects and their laws, based on the belief in the divine right of kings, with the king appointed by God himself to rule the people exactly as he saw fit. Like many modern dictatorships, this was wide open to exploitation of the people, corruption and plain bad leadership. It was also a system for which there needed to be strong supporters who in turn were out for their own personal gain, as well as the strength and control of an army to deter or suppress any opposition.

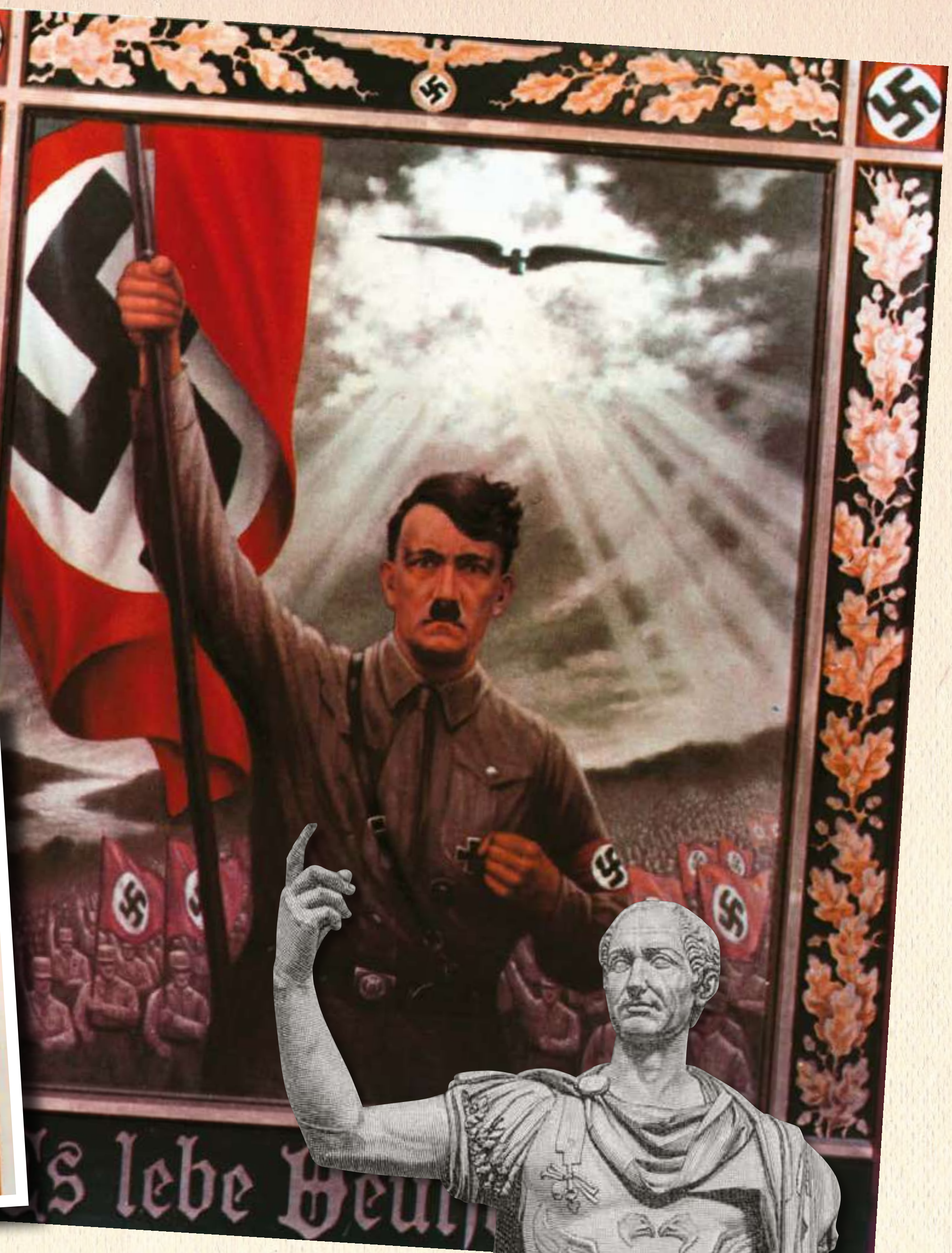
Moving further forward in history, rulers with absolute power continued to thrive, from Mongol warlords and Chinese emperors, to Indian maharajahs and African tribal leaders. Even when the rule of the people broke through this monopoly of power, as in the French Revolution, this only led to chaos and turmoil, allowing a single strong and ambitious individual - a man like Napoleon Bonaparte - to take control and pursue his own plans and ambitions. Like Caesar before him, Napoleon developed his rule from military general to dictator to emperor. Although the title of 'emperor' is not one that many modern dictators have adopted, the pattern of their rise to power continues to have many common threads with those of the past.

There can be a variety of different reasons why a dictator is either able to take power or have power laid at their feet. A major part of a dictator's arsenal is their ability to be opportunistic, seizing the moment when those around them are at their most vulnerable. Even though the circumstances of this can vary, in many instances they are closely linked. How a dictator behaves in order to gain control can be very different from how they conduct themselves once they take power.

At the forefront of this is promoting themselves as a champion of the people, placing themselves at the centre of the fight, as the solution to the problem and the one who can give the people what they want. This is certainly true of the dictators in modern times who have gained control through, on the surface at least, a legal and democratic process. Adolf Hitler, appointed as Chancellor of Germany by President Hindenburg, used this 'legal' platform to develop his power base and himself into a completely autocratic and absolute ruler.

In a similar way Joseph Stalin, elected or appointed to various posts in the Communist Party, used all the ruthless and brutal methods at his disposal to eliminate his rivals and create one of the most infamous tyrannical regimes of the modern era. Fidel Castro used his passion for the ideology of communism to fight a revolutionary war against – as he saw it – the oppressive nature of capitalism, only to then become the central figurehead of a regime in which (theoretically) there should be no such leader at all.





There could be many circumstances in which a potential dictator could rally support as a visionary leader of the people. Countries in dire economic turmoil, whose financial system may be completely dysfunctional and close to collapse; a country ravaged by famine or other natural disasters but with little hope or support given by the government of the time; a war bleeding the country dry or threatening a catastrophic defeat – all are a classic open door for a potential dictator to seize the power. It's even easier if the people are politically polarised on one side or another, especially if the dictator is part of the military itself and can use their influence and authority to command an army to do their bidding. This very same army can therefore be used to maintain a dictator's unique version of law and order and suppress the population into submission. It is no coincidence that many dictators through history have had a military background. Just as important, in light of their desperate need to be seen as strong rulers, many dictators who have never even served in the armed forces would invent a rank and a uniform for themselves to intimidate their critics and opponents – as well as boost their fragile ego.

Whatever the reason a dictator may rise to power, it is the grasping of the opportunity that is key, the ability to either manipulate circumstances or to seize the moment when factors have

"CHARISMA AND PERSONALITY ARE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS THAT ENABLE DICTATORS TO PERSUADE OTHERS TO SUPPORT THEM"

The concept of a 'dictator' traces its roots back to Julius Caesar

suddenly aligned in their favour and they can act decisively to climb their way to the top. It is no coincidence that the majority of modern-day dictatorships thrive in recently decolonised countries. The receding empires of Britain, Spain, Germany and France (among others) saw a huge transformation in these nations' political make up during the 20th century, with many former colonies regaining their independence from their colonial masters. Not surprisingly this caused a power vacuum in many countries that needed to be filled quickly, creating the prospect for rivals to settle old scores and an opening of opportunity for those willing to use all means possible to seize power and hold on to it.

Charisma and personality are essential elements that enable dictators to persuade and manipulate others to support them and do their bidding; essential weapons in a dictator's armoury. They are very often passionate and accomplished public speakers, claiming empathy with their people, in touch with their minds and souls, often using their own perhaps difficult or troubled background and upbringing – whether real or invented – to create a bond between themselves and those they wish to rule. They can also attract a close-knit circle of supporters – eager to advance their own circumstances – to help them achieve their aims, only to later often ruthlessly turn on them when they are no longer regarded as useful to the dictator's needs, discrediting them in the public eye, or even worse, actually disposing of them and their services completely.

There is no doubt that during the rise of a dictator and during their time in power the loyal support of their chosen circle is essential. It would be wrong to assume that all dictators crave power for the sake of power alone. It is something that certainly drives them, but it is what that power controls that lies at the heart of the matter. The loyalty and admiration, even gratitude, of a nation can feed a dictator's hungry ego, but it is also about money and wealth. The wealth of a nation is based upon resources and the importance of these can be an invaluable bargaining chip in a global marketplace. By controlling and exploiting a country's resources a dictator is not only able to make himself personally very wealthy, he is also able to make those around him richer, thereby buying their loyalty and support. As a result the leader's associates find themselves beholden to him, making it extremely difficult to extract themselves from such a dangerous association unless of course it was the dictator himself who decided the 'business arrangement' had come to an end.

Dictators are, therefore, shrewd and calculating by nature, often with sharp minds that can plan a number of intricate moves in advance in order to reach their goal and use those around them like pawns in a game of chess. They are also astute when it comes to choosing who to do business with. Along with wealth and resources come deals and agreements with other countries and other rulers. The valuable resources may be natural, such as oil, gas or gold, but just as valuable to potential partners can be the geography of a nation and where it sits in a region. Even if a dictator treats his own people with disdain, stripping them of their democratic rights, suppressing them into poverty and total dependency upon the goodwill of his regime and is reviled by civilised nations around the world, all this is overlooked when what they have and what they can deliver is important to the

THE HEIGHT OF VANITY AND ARROGANCE

The lengths to which some dictators go to promote themselves and their image knows no bounds

ALFREDO STROESSNER

The Paraguyan dictator insisted that his name be plastered up in all public places, including on neon signs, and that all news bulletins started by pronouncing his name.

EMOMALI RAHMON

In 2013 Emomali Rahmon of Tajikistan was so infuriated with the publishing of a YouTube video of him dancing at a wedding that he banned the entire country from accessing YouTube.

VLADIMIR PUTIN

Russian President Vladimir Putin has regularly broadcast videos of his fishing exploits, chopping wood and even searching for lost treasure, all stripped to the waist in an effort to promote his macho hard man image.

EMPEROR BOKASSA

Emperor Bokassa led a brutal regime in the Central African Republic from 1965 to 1979. Apart from feeding his opponents to pet lions, he also insisted that school children wear uniforms with his face on them!

NURSULTAN NAZARBAYEV

The leader of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev, believes in getting his message in early and so has a series of fairy tale books for children based on his life and exploits. Needless to say no one is brave enough (or stupid enough) not to buy them and they are a best seller!

ДА ЗДРАВСТВУЕТ
1 МАЯ -
ДЕНЬ СМОТРА
БОЕВЫХ СИЛ
ТРУДЯЩИХСЯ
ВСЕХ
СТРАН!
ДА ЗДРАВСТВУЕТ ВЕЛИКАЯ ПАРТИЯ БОЛЬ
ЗАКАЛЕННЫЙ В БОЯХ АВАНГАРД СОВЕТСКОГО НАРОДА

The military gives a show of strength during the May Day celebrations in Moscow, 1947 - in front of Stalin and Lenin posters

“ALLIES WILLING TO TURN A BLIND EYE TO THE ABUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND CORRUPTION ARE A MAJOR ASSET FOR A DICTATOR”

major political powers of the globe, something that has been evidenced throughout history.

Having gained the power, secured the necessary support and been recognised (but not necessarily accepted), albeit begrudgingly, by other countries around the world, what is it that a dictator has to do to stay in control? Having powerful allies willing to turn a blind eye to the abuse of human rights and the corruption is a major asset for a dictator, especially if that ally is prepared to give financial and military support to prop up the regime. However, perhaps the most powerful single weapon that an absolute ruler is able to wield is that of fear, and in many cases even terror, and this can be imposed on their closest inner circle right down to the ordinary man and woman in the street.

It is perhaps the flaws in a dictator’s own character that are at the very source of such a fear; the fear of being challenged or even overthrown and suspicion of their supporters as to their loyalty and their true motives. With absolute power comes paranoia and distrust, and dictators over the centuries have lashed out to impose fear on those around them as their main weapon to maintain control over their subjects.

For the relatively small group of supporters near the top the fear is very much one of a loss of trust by their ruler and benefactor, and with that will come a loss of everything they have gained from the regime – respect, political standing, influence and personal wealth – and once that bond of trust has been broken there is very little chance of getting it back. For all their cold calculating, the burden of absolute power can make dictators invariably unstable and unpredictable, allowing their mood to affect their decision-making, with swift and sometimes deadly consequences. But striking fear into the hearts of a small group of people is relatively simple. In order to control an

A woman lays floral tributes to the victims of Stalin's purges of the 1930s

entire population the mechanisms of fear need to infiltrate every corner of the society.

By no means exclusive to dictatorships, spies and informants are used by almost every country in the world, but they are an essential element in a dark and sinister substructure of fear that underpins a dictatorial regime. It is the use of secret police, seemingly outside of the normal jurisdiction of the law, that is more of an obvious signature of oppressive rule. Through the use of intimidation, blackmail and even violence the regime is able to set individuals off against one another, promoting instability and distrust, causing the people to become suspicious and fearful of what even their neighbours may do or say next.

As with the tyrannical regime of Nicolae Ceaușescu in Romania, ordinary citizens would be detained and imprisoned on the say so of an informant, quite often without any real evidence or grounds for the arrest. Under the military juntas of South America, a form of collective military dictatorship by army leaders, thousands of those arrested were spirited away to join 'the missing' never to be seen or heard of again. Such are the lengths a dictatorial regime is willing to go to in order to suppress opposition, control dissent and preserve their power.

Control of a population is never complete without absolute power over the media. By controlling what people see and hear, dictators are only a short step away from controlling what their citizens think and want. State ownership and control of the newspapers, magazines, radio and television is nothing new and has always formed a core element of a communist regime.

PRODUCCION
PRODUCCION
PRODUCCION
NUESTRA
TAREA
FUNDAMENTAL

Large parades and rallies, such as this one in Havana, are a hallmark of dictatorial regimes

A PALACE FIT FOR A TYRANT

An obvious and lasting hallmark of the life of a dictator is the extravagant spending and lifestyle they are able to lavish on themselves, their family and their closest friends and allies; this all despite the fact that their people may be in poverty or even starving. The Romanian communist leader Nicolae Ceaușescu spent years redirecting his people's money into his own pocket to finance a luxurious lifestyle for him and his wife. What is now known as the Palace of the Parliament – the largest government building in the world after the Pentagon – was originally for the dictator's own use, despite Romania being a communist state. So it is with other dictators, with a compulsive desire to flaunt their lifestyle as a sign of power and success. They often have several houses, either for different seasons or different types of entertaining, all a superficial show of strength.

The Palace of Parliament in Bucharest, Romania. Ceaușescu's dream palace, with 1,100 rooms, nearly bankrupted his country and was left unfinished at his death

Argentina and other South American countries had years of military rule

North Korea has adopted a family dynasty style of dictatorship

The need for their people to only have one side of the story – their side – is vital to the continuation of a dictator's rule. Newspapers, TV and radio stations can be bought, along with the people who run them. Foreign journalists can be barred from entering the country and detained on trumped-up charges if they are discovered.

Thankfully, in the new global world of the internet a dictator's hold on the hearts and minds of their people has become more difficult to attain. Yet somehow, a few dictatorial regimes across the globe have adapted the internet for their own ends by adopting the web as another weapon in their malicious armoury.

Not only controlling what their citizens can and cannot view in their own country, the use of social media to spread propaganda or to discredit opposition to regimes has become widespread, as indeed has the use of complex techniques to blitz social media in order to influence people's opinions and even try to influence the outcome of supposedly fair elections.

North Korea's Kim Jong-un laughs with President Donald Trump of the USA during a meeting in 2018

Propaganda has always been a key element of a dictator's grip on power, and all that has changed is the means by which it can be created and delivered. But it is also true to say that through the power of global media a dictator has a far bigger stage on which they can perform, feeding a vital characteristic of their personality – their ego. It has been stated by some social scientists that one underlying ingredient of a dictator is that of a narcissist – someone who has such heightened delusions of their own importance and abilities that they will do anything to stay in power. They look at themselves and like what they see so much that it justifies everything they do, no matter how appalling or abhorrent it might be. In fact, some psychologists go as far as stating that dictators who are in power for a long time come to believe that they are an embodiment of the country itself and the two things in their mind have become inseparable; they are the nation.

One way that this overwhelming self-belief manifests itself is in what has become known as the 'cult of the personality'. Dictators through the ages have all understood the importance of their image as a symbol of their authority. For kings it was their head upon a coin as a permanent reminder to their people of who held the power over them. In more modern times it became paintings and statues and then posters and huge murals that adorn the walls of large public spaces.

As with all images, they can be manipulated to suit a need. A leader who imprisons and tortures

his countrymen can be depicted as a caring and generous father figure to the nation. But the depiction of the dictator as part of a family - be it an ideological one such as Stalin's links to Lenin and the fathers of communism, or the cult of actual family that has arisen in countries such as North Korea - dictatorship has shifted away from the focus on just one individual to the much more powerful concept of a dynasty of dictatorial rule.

> “A FEW REGIMES HAVE ADOPTED THE WEB AS ANOTHER WEAPON IN THEIR ARMOURY”

It is inevitable that power will fade, and so it is with dictators themselves. For those who have ruled a long time it is often ill health that weakens them. For others it may be someone new who catches the eye of the military, and gets their support for a coup d'état to inject new lifeblood into the regime. And of course ‘friends’ can come and go; alliances and priorities change and plans are abandoned. Yet dictators still exist, but it is with more than a hint of irony that these despots, for whom absolute power is essential, will only ever exist as long as they have the support of larger, more powerful countries. Once this disappears their brutal regimes, their extravagance and their egos will disappear with it.

The poetic side to DICTATORS

Even the world's most evil, twisted people need some respite from their dastardly deeds sometimes. It's known that Hitler once harboured dreams of being an artist, but what did other dictators do to take their mind off oppressing their people?

Aside from art – practised by Hitler as well as Francisco Franco – poetry seems to be a common pastime. Communist dictators Chairman Mao and Stalin both wrote poems in their youth, and Mao continued to do so even as China was suffering a crushing famine caused by his policies. Mao's poetry made use of traditional Chinese forms, and though many critics have lambasted his work as woefully average, some say it isn't dreadful. His best-known poem is called *Snow*, and though it praises the heroes of Chinese history, it makes sure to state that Mao is the greatest of them all;

“Such a beautiful land
Has infatuated countless heroes.
However
Pioneer emperors Qin Shihuang and Han Wudi
Were men lack of poem's grace talent;
Great emperors Emperor Taizong of Tang and Song Taizu
Were short of spirit and strength.
That proud son of Heaven,
Genghis Khan
Only enjoys shooting the big Hawk with
his bow.

Alas,They are now gone as history:
The real great hero,
Is coming up now.”

Stalin also dabbled in prose as a youth. His poems were romantic odes to his home country, Georgia. The mountainous and wild region provided plenty of stimuli for a budding poet, but while Stalin's work might have started out as a love letter to the countryside, nationalistic undertones often seeped in – revealing his political nature from an early age. For example, while Stalin's poem *Morning* begins by describing roses, violets and lilies, the final stanza transforms into something else entirely.

“Be full of blossom, oh lovely land
Rejoice Iverians' country
And you oh Georgian, by studying
Bring joy to your motherland.”

These poems are very telling about their authors' political sentiments, but nobody could have predicted the monsters they would become.

Part of Mao's poem *Swimming* is inscribed on this monument to the Yangtze Flood of 1954

FASCISTS

The men who believed democracy had to die

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How the demagogue used racism & repression in his quest to restore German "greatness"

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Benito Mussolini wouldn't stop his ruthless rise until Italy was under his control

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Victorious in Spain's civil war, Franco became Europe's longest serving dictator

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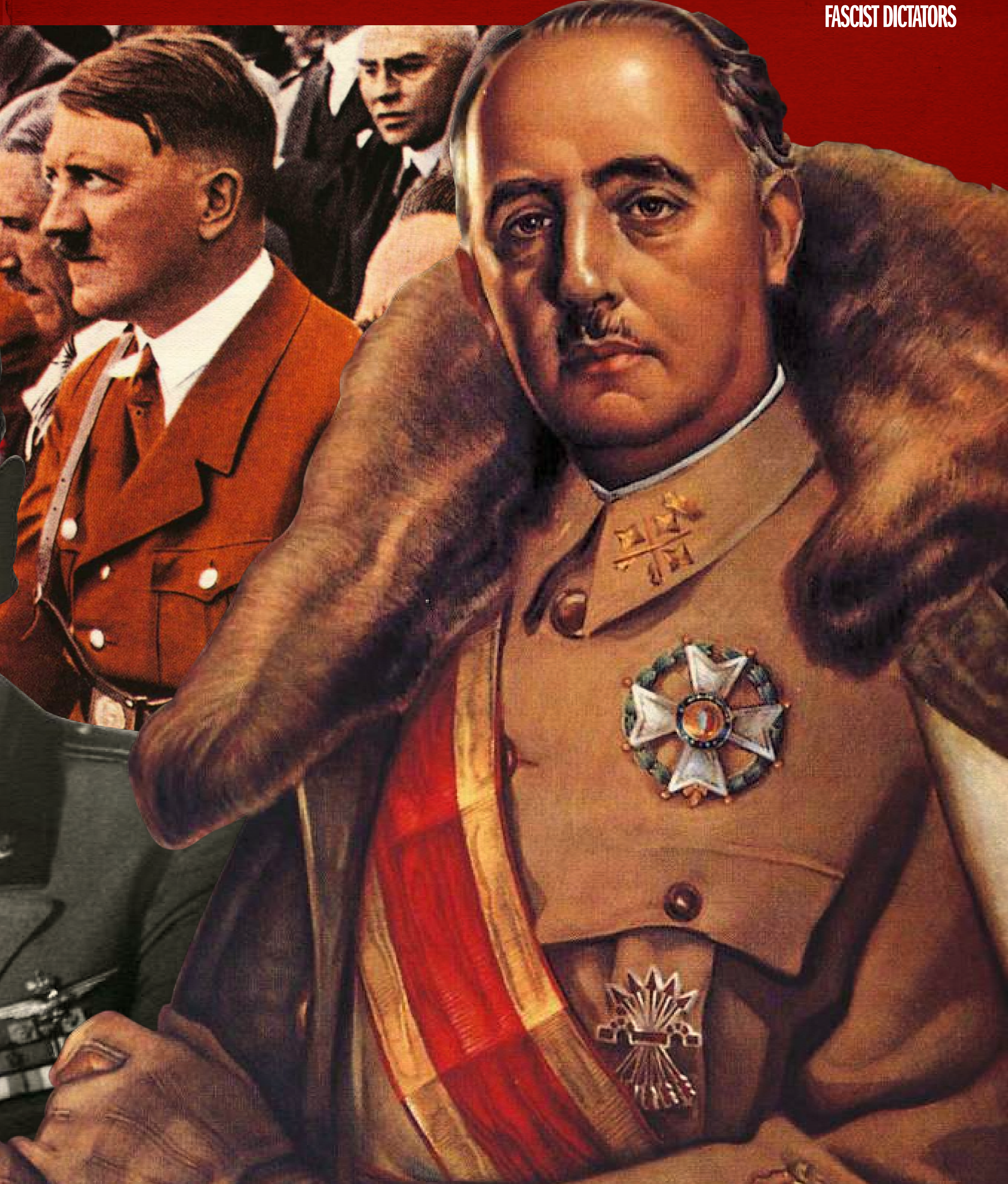
Was Portugal's Salazar one of the least malevolent dictators in history?



THE RISE OF EVIL HITLER

How the demagogue used riots, racism & repression in his quest to restore German "greatness"

WRITTEN BY: **EMILY TURNER-GRAHAM AND MICHAEL HASKEW**

To hear Hitler tell the story in his 1924 autobiography *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle), the course of his entire life - right from birth - had led to his dictatorship of Germany from 1933-45. The forces of destiny had carefully planned it all - he was a man marked by fate to lead the nation of Germany. But, in truth, history is rarely as neat as that, and Hitler's extraordinary rise to rule the totalitarian Nazi state in the 1930s and then lead the German people to war and almost total destruction is far more complex.

Instead it is a story that grew from the human tragedy of World War I and the social, economic and political chaos of its aftermath, a nation drawn to extremes in its pursuit of a new beginning, and the capacity of a broken man and his circle of followers to sell a myth of national rebirth to a cultured but equally war-scarred nation. The years from 1924, when Hitler was released from a short stint in prison, up to 1934 and the infamous bloodletting of the Night of the Long Knives mark the key period in Hitler's rise to power.

When he emerged from Landsberg Prison in the south-western Bavarian town of Landsberg am Lech on 20 December 1924, he had served only nine months of a five-year sentence for treason for his role in the Beer Hall Putsch (revolt) on 8-9 November 1923. It was an attempt by the fledgling Nazi Party (which had only formed in 1919) and a handful of fellow right-wing travellers to overthrow the hated Weimar government.

Hitler's court trial, presided over by a pro-Nazi judge, had served only to provide him with a far-reaching public platform from which to broadcast his views, especially since the trial was being eagerly reported in the national newspapers. He not only admitted his guilt in the Putsch but in fact relished in it. "I have resolved to be the destroyer of Marxism," he proclaimed confidently from the dock, appointing himself the 'strong man' who many on the right believed Germany needed in order to emerge from the chaos and misery of its wartime years. Post-Putsch, he no longer saw himself as the 'drummer', preparing the path for the coming leader. Instead, he was the Führer (leader) himself.

Hitler, along with Rudolf Hess (who would become Deputy Führer in 1933), passed his prison sentence quite comfortably. He was able to receive guests, and a number of his political colleagues who would later become prominent figures in the Third Reich - such as Ernst Röhm, Wilhelm Frick and Alfred Rosenberg - paid numerous visits. This allowed for a like-minded group to develop, for Hitler to continue to expound and hone his views, and for him to consolidate his role as party leader - all while behind prison walls.

On top of this, Hitler also used the time to put together his political manifesto. In fact, he described prison as his "university paid for by the State." The book was called *Mein Kampf* and in it he detailed a set of ideas that, at their core, changed little over the course of his life and formed the essential nucleus of National Socialist (Nazi) ideology. In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler also reshaped his own history in order to reinforce the idea that destiny had called him to lead Germany.

He and many of his followers began to believe that he was on a, "…near-messianic [mission]… to become the 'Great Leader' the nation awaited, who would expunge the 'criminal betrayal of 1918', restore Germany's might and power, and create a reborn 'Germanic State of the German nation'." His autobiography saw the beginning of 'the Führer Myth' that would last for some Germans until the bitter end of the Nazi period in 1945. One sympathetic writer said in 1924, "What lies dormant in the soul of the German people has taken shape in full living features… That has appeared in Adolf Hitler: the living incarnation of the nation's yearning."

Hitler sits beside his new appointed propaganda minister, Joseph Goebbels, at a rally in Stuttgart, 1933

"IT SEEMED THAT HITLER HAD TAPPED INTO A NUMBER OF COMMON BELIEFS IN MEIN KAMPF – HE HAD JUST TAKEN THEM TO THEIR EXTREMES"

The opening of the new Reichstag symbolised unity between the Nazi Party and the old Prussian military elite

THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC: DOOMED TO FAILURE

When the kaiser fled, a new democratic government was declared in the small town of Weimar

The Weimar Republic refers to the German state from 1919 to 1933. Many Germans on the right believed the Republic had allowed Germany to lose World War I by conceding defeat too soon. Many nationalists also espoused the 'stab in the back' theory, believing that Bolsheviks and Jews had weakened the home front with damaging modern ideas such as feminism. The 1919 Treaty of Versailles, which the Weimar government accepted, took territory from Germany, called for colossal reparations and laid the blame for igniting the war squarely at the feet of the Central Powers – Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria.

Added to this, in 1923 the French occupied the Ruhr in Germany, commandeering the district's rich raw materials. This was another mark against the Weimar government in the eyes of the right, along with the many black French colonial soldiers who were allowed as part of the Ruhr occupation force. During the same period, Germany suffered from devastating hyperinflation. A large number of Germans lost their social status and were reduced to poverty.

A solution came in the form of the Dawes Plan in 1924, but the German economy was left dependent on loans from the USA. This would have serious ramifications when the Great Depression struck in 1929.

Finally, there were inherent problems within Germany's system of government. Germany had only become a unified country in 1871 and since that time had been a monarchy. Germany was governed by coalitions with no overall majority. This resulted in a series of weak, unstable governments and a lack of public confidence in the political system.

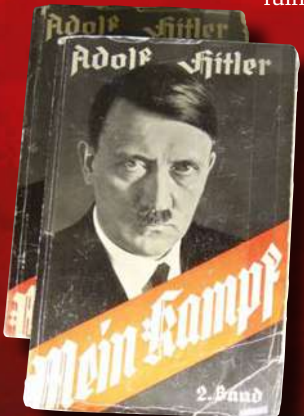
My struggle

Mein Kampf depicted a world characterised by constant struggle. All existence could be reduced to a battle between the strong and the weak. "Those that want to live, let them fight, and those who do not want to fight in this world of eternal struggle do not deserve to live." Hitler argued for Social Darwinism, an interpretation of Darwin's theory of evolution applied to humanity and best summed up as 'survival of the fittest'. The foremost means of defining the strong and the weak was through the lens of race. As Hitler said in *Mein Kampf*, "The racial question gives the key not only to world history but to all human culture." The Aryan was the greatest expression of humanity and the German ideal was characterised as being tall, well-built and healthy with blonde hair and blue eyes. The physical vitality of the Aryan was also expressed in their richly creative culture. For Hitler, Aryans were "the founders of culture". Their total opposite was the Jew. The Nazis depicted Jewry as a race not a religion that was unhealthy physically, mentally and spiritually.

Hitler argued that Jewry also lacked an original culture. While Aryans created culture, Jews invaded, imitated, corrupted and ultimately destroyed it. The Nazis argued this was what had recently happened in Germany. During World War I, while German men were away fighting, Jews undermined traditional German culture at home by introducing damaging modern ideas like Bolshevism and feminism. As a result, the home front collapsed and the war was lost. Here was the extreme right's infamous Dolchstosslegende, or 'stab in the back' theory.

Jews, therefore, were the enemies of Germany and had to be eliminated from society. There were varying suggestions as to what extent this 'elimination' should take place. So too, all German peoples throughout Europe needed to be united in a greater German state and in order to do this, more Lebensraum (living space) had to be acquired. As well as all this, the 'treachery' of the Treaty of Versailles needed to be redressed. Hitler's long-term goals were set.

There were conflicting views about *Mein Kampf* and Hitler's objectives. Economist Johannes Zahn said: "Reading *Mein Kampf* was exactly like belief in the demands of the *Bible*. These are demands but nobody believed they would be fulfilled one hundred per cent." Diplomat Manfred von Schröder said that, "Nobody took it really seriously." Yet Johannes Zahn argued that Jewish influence "had gone too far" in Germany and Herbert Richter, who said that *Mein Kampf* was "too crazy" to even finish reading, also felt that the German territories lost in World War I should be returned. It seemed that Hitler had tapped into a number of common beliefs in *Mein Kampf* – he had just taken them to their extremes. The book sold poorly initially but by 1939 in Germany, it was selling second only to the Bible, and by 1945, 10 million copies had been purchased.



The Beer Hall Putsch and Hitler's spell in prison also taught the Nazi Party that the only route to power was through the ballot box. Armed revolution was not the answer. Instead they would beat the system from within, by becoming a part of Germany's democratic system before gaining power and pulling democracy apart. As Hitler said, "If outvoting them takes longer than outshooting them, at least the results will be guaranteed by their own Constitution."

EVOLUTION OF THE NAZI PARTY

Nazi Party The birth of the National Socialist German Workers' Party

1918

World War I ends
The end of the Great War gives rise to the 'stab in the back' theory that the German army was betrayed. An ultra-right element emerges on the German political scene.

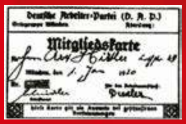
German citizens riot in the port city of Kiel

1919

German Workers' Party forms
Anton Drexler, along with other anti-Semitic and nationalist activists, is a prime mover in the formation of the forerunner of the Nazi Party in Munich on 5 January 1919.

1919

Hitler joins German Workers' Party
Ordered by the army to infiltrate the German Workers' Party, Hitler instead joins the group as its 55th member, and begins his rapid rise to leadership.



Deutsche Arbeiter-Partei (D. A. P.)

Mitgliedskarte

Drexler

Adolf Hitler's membership card

1920

Becoming the Nazis
The name of the group is formally changed to the National Socialist German Workers' Party, abbreviated as Nazi, and its first public meeting is held.

1921

Hitler on the rise
Using his gift for oratory, Hitler addresses a crowd of 6,000 people in Munich. Later this year, he's elected chairman of the Nazi Party.

1923

Beer Hall Putsch
The first Nazi Party Day is held. Several Nazi cohorts are killed, and Hitler is arrested and imprisoned following the abortive Beer Hall Putsch in Munich.

1924

A political platform
Hitler utilises his trial for treason as a platform to denounce the current political situation in Germany. He receives a five-year sentence in Landsberg Prison.

1924

Mein Kampf
While in prison, Hitler receives regular visitors, enjoys remarkable freedom, and dictates his manifesto, *Mein Kampf*, to his secretary, Rudolf Hess.

Hitler's book *Mein Kampf* became a bestseller in Germany

German National People's Party The national conservative party gave Hitler a narrow voting majority

1918

Conservative concentration
The German National People's Party (DNVP) – a conservative organisation including several right-wing factions opposed to the Weimar government – is formed after WWI. It becomes the largest such party in Germany prior to expansion of the Nazis.

Emblem of the German National People's Party

1925

Electing the old general
The DNVP counts more than 20 per cent of German voters among its supporters and campaigns for the election of General Paul von Hindenburg as president of Germany.

Hindenburg's swearing-in ceremony, 1925

1928

Hard right turn
Alfred Hugenberg assumes leadership of the DNVP and turns sharply to the political right, increasing resistance to the Weimar government. The popularity of the Nazis begins to erode the DNVP power base.

Alfred Hugenberg, leader of the DNVP

Freikorps How these German volunteer units became embroiled in the Nazi Party

1918

Up from defeat
Late in the year, the first paramilitary Freikorps units organise. Composed largely of former soldiers, the right-wing Freikorps oppose the Weimar Republic and leftist groups.

1919

Continuing unrest
At least 65 Freikorps units are organised across Germany. They engage in street violence and the suppression of communist and left-wing uprisings, often resorting to terror and murder.

1920

Reach for power
The Freikorps is supposedly disbanded but continues to operate for years to come. Some Freikorps leaders participate in the failed Kapp Putsch.

Right-wing nationalist Wolfgang Kapp

Reichswehr Hitler's relationship with Germany's military was key to the Nazis' success

1919

Military reorganisation
Following the defeat of Germany in World War I, the armed forces of the Weimar Republic, the Reichswehr, are created from the Provisional National Army and Navy.

Reichswehr soldiers during a training exercise

1920

State within a state
The leadership of the army refuses to fully support the Weimar government, and General Hans von Seeckt, appointed chief of army command, begins to operate in a virtually autonomous manner.

General von Seeckt stands with Reichswehr officers

1920

Clandestine rebuilding
Although the Treaty of Versailles limits the size of the German army to 100,000, General von Seeckt conducts a clandestine campaign to build and maintain a "shadow army".

1925

Birth of the SS
The Schutzstaffel, or SS, is founded as a bodyguard for Hitler but evolves into a sizeable force with security, administrative, and military responsibilities.

1928

A landmark election
During Reichstag elections, the Nazi Party receives nearly three per cent of the vote, gaining them attention from other political groups and arousing interest in the party across Germany.

Germans with campaign posters

1930

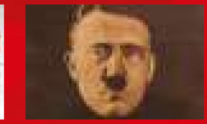
A force in the Reichstag
During the national election, the Nazis receive 6 million votes and increase their representation in the Reichstag from 12 seats to 107.

Wir fordern
Freiheit und Brot

A Nazi Party election poster

1932

Nazi presidential aspirations
Paul von Hindenburg, a hero of World War I, soundly defeats Hitler in the presidential election, although the Nazi candidate receives 37 per cent of the vote.



One of Hitler's election posters

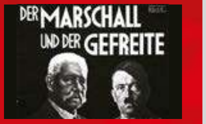
1933

Terror on the march
Chancellor Franz von Papen lifts the ban on the SS and paramilitary Sturmabteilung, or SA. The Nazis receive 13.7 million votes during election, achieving a Reichstag majority with 230 seats.

Members of the SA stand at attention prior to a parade

1933

Chancellor of Germany
Convinced that the Nazis can be controlled if their leader is included in a coalition government, President Hindenburg appoints Hitler as the chancellor of Germany.



This propaganda poster depicts Hindenburg and Hitler as leaders of government

1934

The Blood Purge
To appease the army and eliminate a perceived threat to his power, Hitler purges the SA leadership and settles old scores during the Night of the Long Knives.

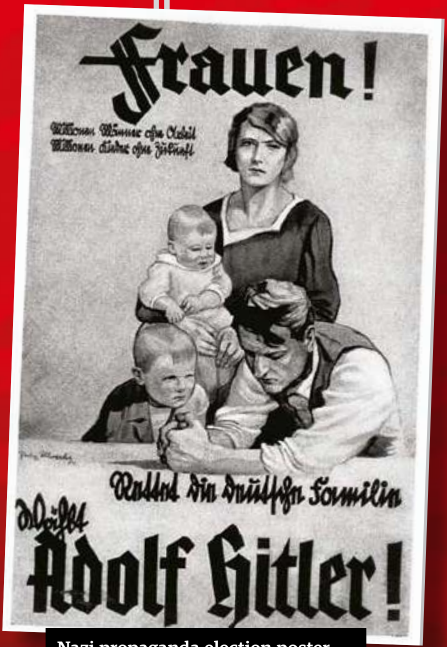
1931

Co-operation and coalition
The DNVP begins co-operating with the Nazis, forming coalition governments, which leads to Hugenberg's appointment as minister of economics and agriculture under Chancellor Hitler two years later.

Chancellor Hitler sits with members of the Reich cabinet

1933

DNVP end game
Hugenberg advocates changing the DNVP name to the German National Front (DNF) to be more representative of the country's political landscape. However, its influence wanes and many members join the Nazis.


Frauen!
Millionen Männer ohne Arbeit
Millionen Kinder ohne Zukunft
Rettet die deutsche Familie
Wählt
Adolf Hitler!

Nazi propaganda election poster, "Women! Save the German Family! Vote for Adolf Hitler!" c.1930

1922

Assassination as a political tool
Ex-members of a Freikorps unit assassinate Foreign Minister Walther Rathenau, whom they believe is sympathetic to the political left. Rathenau is also Jewish.

Rathenau was killed by a former Freikorps unit

1933

Allegiance to the Nazis
During a solemn ceremony, old Freikorps flags are handed to the leaders of the SA and SS in a symbolic union with the Nazi Party.

1933

Armed rivalry
After Hitler becomes chancellor of Germany, the Reichswehr continues its expansion. However, senior officers raise concerns about the growing power of the Sturmabteilung (SA), many times larger with approximately 3 million men.

1934

A question of loyalty
Gaining the co-operation of the army, Hitler purges the SA during the Night of the Long Knives. German soldiers are later required to swear an oath of loyalty to Hitler.

Hitler poses with SA troops in 1928

INSIDE THE NAZI TERROR STATE

Hitler sought to control every aspect of German life to maintain his grip on power

PERSUASIVE PROPAGANDA

The Nazis utilised a systematic campaign to promote their ideology and persecute perceived enemies of the German people. Propaganda effectively engendered loyalty to the Nazi state, embodied by Hitler. "One Reich, one people, one Führer!"

CONSOLIDATION OF GOVERNMENT

As chancellor, Hitler abolished the office of president and declared himself Führer. He effectively assumed the role of dictator as he suspended personal liberties, eliminated enemies and silenced opposition.

RELIGIOUS REDIRECTION

Realising religion was significant in the lives of many Germans, the Nazis were careful not to risk open hostility against the mainstream church. However, they utilised nationalism and the figure of Hitler as 'saviour' to conjure 'religious' fervour.

RESOLUTE YOUTH

Young people belonged to greater Germany. The Führer once told a gathering of Hitler Youth that they were Germany's future, required to be "hard as Krupp steel." From classrooms and into the fabric of family, the state held sway.

REIGN OF TERROR

A pillar of Nazi rule, terror gripped Germany. Threats of imprisonment, torture, or death were real for those who dared to dissent. The Nazi secret police, or Gestapo, seemed everywhere. Neighbours turned against neighbours.

THE WORKING MASSES

The Nazis abolished trade unions, absorbing their memberships into the Reich Labour Front. They also capitalised on mass unemployment to generate work projects and state-controlled jobs to create the illusion of long-term prosperity.

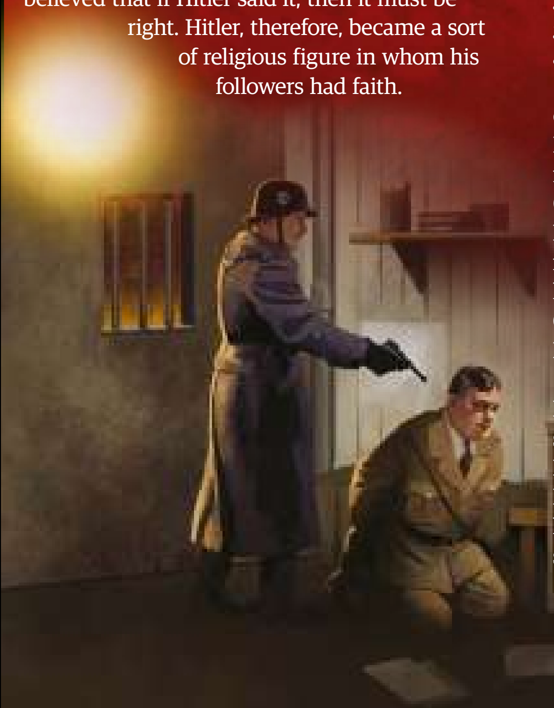
COERCIVE CULTURE

Art, literature, music, or any form of expression deemed decadent or subversive was consigned to the flaming pyre. Every aspect of German culture, from sculpture to architecture, science and social interaction, reflected the Nazi world view.

"AFTER SOME INITIAL CONCERNS ABOUT NAZI IDEOLOGY, GOEBBELS BECAME A CLASSIC EXAMPLE OF THOSE WHO BELIEVED THAT IF HITLER SAID IT, THEN IT MUST BE RIGHT"

Hitler's faithful followers

During this period, Hitler had also begun to surround himself with the men who would be crucial to the development of the Nazi movement and within the Nazi government. Joseph Goebbels, who would be devoted to Hitler right through to the apocalyptic, suicidal days inside the Führerbunker in 1945, was an intellectual radical who had a doctorate in German literature. After some initial concerns about Nazi ideology, Goebbels became a classic example of those who believed that if Hitler said it, then it must be right. Hitler, therefore, became a sort of religious figure in whom his followers had faith.



Emotional devotion was valued over rationality and reason, and this tendency characterised Hitler's entire rule. In 1927, Hitler said: "[We] put faith in the first place and not cognition. One has to believe in a cause. Only faith creates a state. What motivates people to go and do battle for religious ideas? Not cognition but blind faith."

This was certainly a characteristic seen in Goebbels, for upon reading *Mein Kampf*, he declared: "I love him... such a sparkling mind can be my leader. I bow to the greater one, the political genius... Adolf Hitler, I love you because you are great and simple at the same time. What one calls a genius."

Similar attitudes of blind devotion were expressed by Rudolf Hess, who had joined the Nazi Party in 1920 after already having spent time in Germany's right-wing movement, and Hermann Göring, the World War I flying ace who joined the Nazi Party in 1922. He later became one of the most important men in the Third Reich, initially heading the SA (Stormtroopers), then founding the Gestapo (the Nazi secret police) and heading the Luftwaffe (air force).

Ernst Röhm represented a different type of Nazi. Like Hess and Göring, he had been an early supporter of the movement. He joined the Nazi Party in 1919 and played a key role in the Beer Hall Putsch. He held an important position in the leadership and the establishment of the SA but he saw the journey of the Nazi Party very much as a

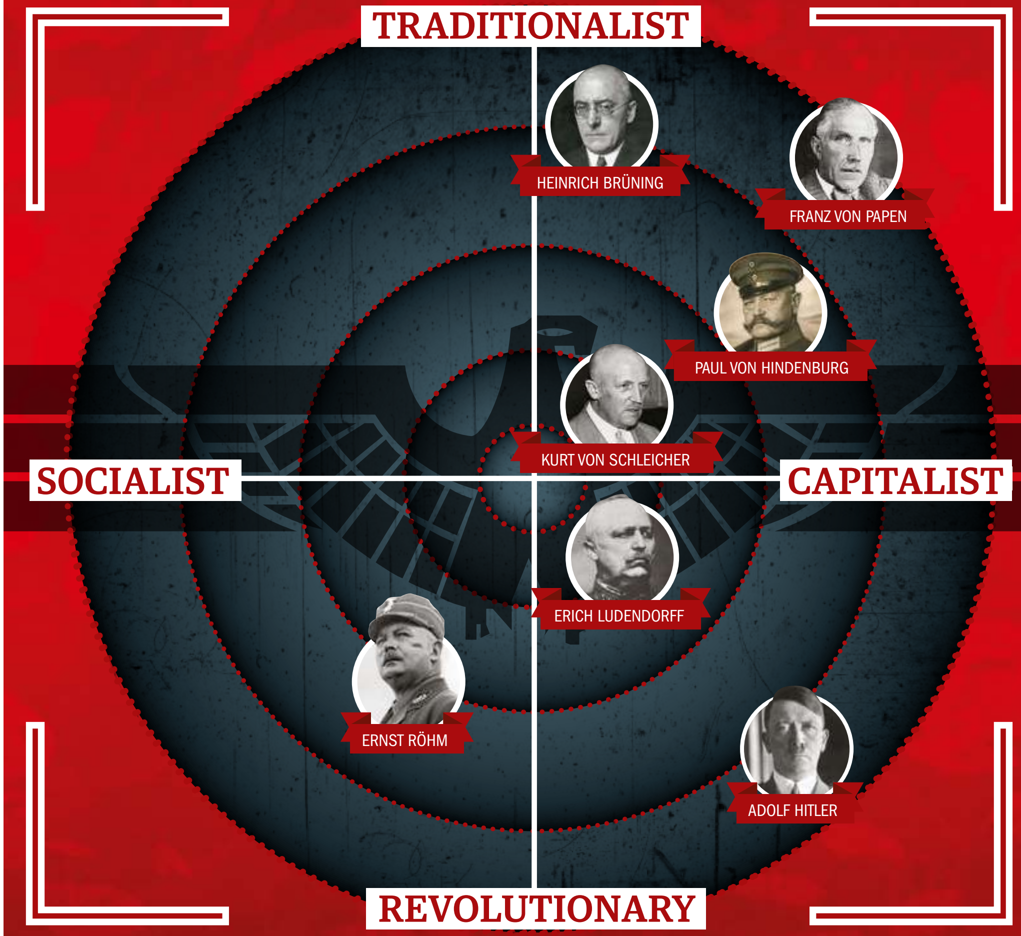
Flanked by banner-carrying SS, Hitler takes part in the harvest festival at Bückeburg

Adolf Hitler addresses massed ranks of soldiers at a Nazi rally held in Dortmund, c.1933

revolution, even beyond the Putsch, when Hitler had decided to gain power through the political mainstream. To this end, Röhm said, "…since I am an immature and wicked man, war and unrest appeal to me more than good bourgeois order. Brutality is respected, the people need wholesome fear." While he was one of Hitler's closest friends in the early days, he did not see Hitler as a divine leader to whom he had to submit himself. He wanted to pursue his own objectives and power within the party and it was this lack of obedience that ultimately led to his demise in 1934. Gregor Strasser, who, with his brother Otto, wanted to emphasise the Socialist element of National Socialism above all else, similarly tried to strike his own path within the movement and lost out.

AXIS OF THE WEIMAR RIGHT

The German government's key players had different approaches to healing the nation



ADOLF HITLER

Leader of the Nazi Party since the 1920s, Hitler believed in the totalitarian state, preeminent in every way above the individual. Pragmatic in his politics, he was compelled to work together with German industrialists and financiers to consolidate power. However, he loathed capitalism, and promoted the state control of economic and social institutions.

HEINRICH BRÜNING

As chancellor of Weimar Germany from March 1930 to May 1932, Brüning's negotiations with the Nazis failed to produce a coalition government. In his memoirs he claimed to have advocated the restoration of the Hohenzollern monarchy to prevent Hitler from taking control if Hindenburg died in office.

PAUL VON HINDENBURG

The hero of World War I, elderly Hindenburg served two terms as the president of Germany. Considered the conservative choice, Hindenburg became embroiled in the country's post-war political upheaval. In 1933, he signed the Enabling Act, vesting near-dictatorial power in Hitler and becoming complicit in the rise of the Nazi Party.

ERNST RÖHM

A radical socialist, Röhm led the Sturmabteilung, or SA. His ruffians brawled with anti-Nazi factions in the streets. As the SA grew to outnumber the German Army, Hitler perceived it as a threat. Röhm was assassinated and the SA leadership purged during the Night of the Long Knives in 1934.

FRANZ VON PAPEN

A conservative and monarchist who served as chancellor of Weimar Germany in the Weimar Republic from June to November 1932, Papen was largely responsible for convincing Hindenburg to appoint Hitler Chancellor of Germany in 1933, believing that a post in government would keep Hitler and the Nazis under control. He was sadly mistaken.

KURT VON SCHLEICHER

The last chancellor of Weimar Germany, Schleicher was instrumental in rebuilding the German Army in contravention of the Treaty of Versailles. Politically moderate, he attempted to form a centrist coalition government, opposing burgeoning Nazi influence. This move earned Hitler's enmity, resulting in his assassination in 1934 during the Night of the Long Knives.

ERICH LUDENDORFF

An influential army general during World War I, a disillusioned Ludendorff became associated with right-wing political activism during the 1920s and participated in failed coup attempts in 1920 and 1923. Ludendorff served as a National Socialist member of the Reichstag but later warned of the dangers posed by a Nazi government.

Economic crisis

While the profound distress caused by the loss of World War I and the social and economic chaos that followed had inspired a number of Germans to at least give the Nazi Party a hearing, by the mid-1920s conditions had improved and most people had turned away from the extreme fringes of politics. By the late 1920s, however, the instability and turmoil needed by the Nazi Party to present themselves as a viable alternative government had returned.

In 1928, global food prices were beginning to drop and German agricultural workers were suffering. Germany's recovery from the disastrous hyperinflation of 1923, brought on by Germany's attempts to pay French and British war reparations imposed by the Treaty of Versailles, had been based upon loans from the United States. As the world economy began a downturn, Germany's already fragile economy was threatened. When the financial markets of Wall Street crashed in 1929, heralding the beginning of the Great Depression, the USA called in its loans and the German economy, like so many economies around the world, went into a major downturn.

The mainstream parties seemed to offer little hope or constructive help to the general populace as major banks folded and unemployment spiralled out of control. By the end of 1929, about 1.5 million Germans were out of work. Within a year this figure had more than doubled. By early 1933, unemployment in Germany had reached a staggering 6 million. Governmental response had been to cut expenditure, wages and unemployment benefits - a disastrous move. As well as affecting the working class, the economic pain spread to the middle-class, too. People looked desperately for answers, assistance and hope. The extreme parties seemed to provide answers for extreme times, and the communists and Nazis fought it out on the streets for supremacy.

Hitler was in his element. Nazi membership rose from 120,000 in 1929 to over 1 million by 1930. In the frequent elections brought about by ongoing instability, the Nazis rose from 2.5 per cent of the vote in 1928 to over 18 per cent in 1930. By 1932, the Nazi Party had nearly 40 per cent of the vote. Hitler's message was for unity for 'true' Germans. He called for a return to the comradeship of the war years. Jutta Rüdiger, who would later lead the League of German Girls, recalled, "I was told that this frontline soldier (Hitler) had said… the only thing that matters is comradeship, the willingness to help and stand by one another."

Newly elected German Chancellor Adolf Hitler being cheered by deputies during the first Reichstag session, 21 May 1933

Hitler strikes a pose for a photographer while rehearsing a speech. Hitler reviewed each pose to maximise the effect his words would have on the German people

Vote Hitler

In 1932, Hitler challenged the ageing World War I general Paul von Hindenburg for the German presidency. In the chaos of ineffectual government, revolving-door chancellors, economic pain and social upheaval, Hitler ran two impressive campaigns due in large part to the work of his propaganda chief Joseph Goebbels. Hitler became the first politician to travel widely throughout the country by aircraft. Seeming to descend from the heavens as he travelled to as many as five cities a day to speak, the 'Hitler over Germany' campaign was an enormous success.

Striking and effective election posters were put to good use. "Hitler - our last hope," read one. "Workers - the Brow, the Fist - vote for the Front Soldier Hitler!" read another, showing two burly working men gazing fiercely at the viewer. "German women, think of your children - vote Hitler," appealed another, as a fearful female figure clutched her children. One claimed, "Marxism is the guardian angel of Capitalism - vote National Socialist," with capitalism depicted as a smartly dressed, overweight Jewish man, holding a bag of money. These simple posters spoke to everyone - men, women, the population at large - and they zeroed in on a common enemy: the Jew.

"HITLER'S MESSAGE WAS FOR UNITY FOR 'TRUE' GERMANS. HE CALLED FOR A RETURN TO THE COMRADESHIP OF THE WAR YEARS"

Hitler as a commanding presence during a Nazi rally, c.1933

However, Germany's political elite was unconvinced that the working-class corporal, as they saw him, was the man for the job. With the country's social, political and economic chaos continuing to press in though, steps had to be taken. Believing they could control Hitler and the excesses of the Nazis if they were contained within government rather than agitating from outside, Hindenburg consented to Hitler becoming chancellor of Germany with Franz von Papen, a conservative, as vice chancellor.

The error of their ways was swiftly realised. Less than a month after Hitler's appointment as German chancellor on 30 January 1933, Berlin's Reichstag building caught fire. A Dutch communist, Marinus van der Lubbe, was blamed but there were rumours of Nazi involvement. It was the final sign of total national emergency according to Hitler. The Enabling Act was passed on 24 March 1933. It allowed for the power to make laws without parliamentary passage through the Reichstag. Hitler proclaimed the Nazi Party was the only political party permitted in Germany. All other parties and trade unions were disbanded. Individual German states lost any autonomous powers, and Nazi officials became state governors. Jews were declared 'non-Aryans' and were banned from teaching, the civil service, the military and owning businesses. The first concentration camp at Dachau, near Munich, was opened on 21 March 1933. Hitler was now effectively dictator of Germany, and the nation a totalitarian police state.

With his external enemies under control, Hitler turned his attention to the enemies within his own ranks. Hitler decided to act against Ernst Röhm, who had continued to agitate for a greater slice of power. He would not be subservient to the Führer and he believed the Stormtroopers should be merged with the German Army and fall under his command. Himmler and Göring concocted false evidence that Röhm was planning a coup. Hindenburg demanded that Hitler react. On 30 June 1934, Röhm and the SA leadership were executed along with anyone who Hitler felt had crossed him on his rise to power; Gregor Strasser was included on that list.

Hitler's blood-soaked Third Reich had begun.

THE BRUTAL THIRD REICH

Hitler's actions after seizing power painted Europe red with the blood of innocents

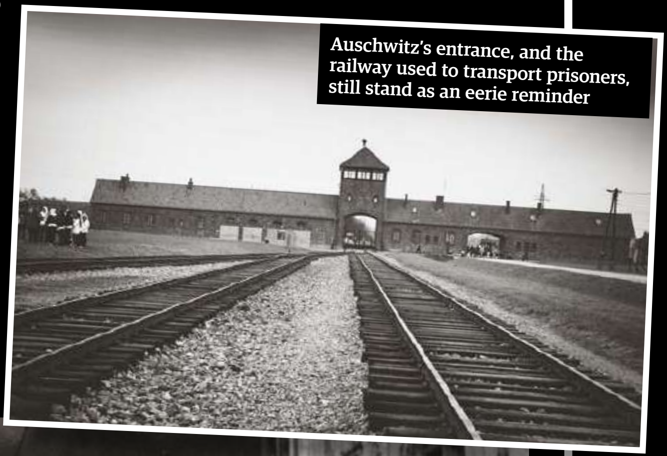
The Bavarian dictator is almost universally reviled for a number of reasons, but Hitler is perhaps most notorious for his utterly inhumane treatment of Jews, Roma, homosexuals, and eastern Europeans – among other minorities and persecuted groups. Responsible for the deaths of tens of millions of people, it could easily be argued that no other dictator has had quite the same impact on world memory as Adolf Hitler, as the scars left by his regime are still evident upon those that survived.

Hitler's hatred for Jewish people knew no bounds, and as soon as he took power he aimed to eradicate them completely. The Nazi Party's anti-Semitic policies started off by enforcing segregation, and forcing Jews to wear yellow stars to mark them out as Jewish. Support for Hitler's views grew, and so did attacks on Jewish businesses and families. By the late 1930s, the Nazis announced that Jews would have to leave Germany for good, and used the Gestapo to forcibly deport them.

Then, in 1942, the 'final solution' was proposed – extermination. Concentration camps were built across Germany and the countries it conquered, and before long, millions of Jews were being sent to the gas chambers. But that wasn't all – Hitler also wanted to get rid of anyone else he deemed 'subhuman', including the Roma people, homosexuals, political opponents, and Soviet citizens. The scale of the slaughter was so great that it is impossible to get an accurate death toll, but it is estimated that roughly 20 million people were killed as a result of Hitler's genocidal policies.

On top of this, tens of millions more people died in the theatre of European warfare – be they soldiers, civilians, or prisoners of war. Hitler's conduct in World War 2 was reckless, and no human life would be spared in his vainglorious quest for domination. He was always prepared to sacrifice his own people to win the war, and he was also no great military strategist, meaning even more lives were lost as a result of poor tactical decisions.

As the war raged on, Hitler's tactics became more and more fantastical, but none of them worked. When the USSR and the Allies were closing in on Berlin, Germany's hopes of winning the war were dashed. Hitler killed himself, along with his wife Eva Braun, on the 30th April 1945. His regime, which he had named the 'Thousand-Year Reich', had lasted only 12 years.



Auschwitz's entrance, and the railway used to transport prisoners, still stand as an eerie reminder

After the invasion of Warsaw, Polish Jews were rounded up by Nazi troops and sent to concentration camps such as Auschwitz

THE FATHER OF FASCISM

MUSSOLINI

Benito Mussolini's rise to power is as contradictory as it is fascinating, but he wouldn't stop until Italy was under his control

WRITTEN BY: **KATHARINE MARSH**

In 1912 the Italian Socialist Party's official newspaper appointed a new editor. A well-known socialist journalist was now at the helm of *Avanti!* - meaning 'forward' - and his reputation preceded him. He was an Italian who had spent some time making a name for himself in Switzerland, and he'd even started his own successful newspaper, but this position would spell the end of his socialist career… this man was Benito Mussolini, and he was about to change everything he believed in.

The small town of Predappio in northern Italy played host to Mussolini's early years. Born in 1883, he was introduced to politics from a young age as his father was a part-time socialist journalist, as well as being a blacksmith. However, neither job paid well, and the Mussolini family was poor, living in two crowded rooms on the second floor of a small, decrepit building. But none of that mattered to the young Benito - in fact, later he'd brag about his humble background.

Mussolini's early life was to be defined by socialism. When he helped his father in the forge it was what they would talk about, and even his name was dripping in symbolism. He was primarily named after Mexican president Benito Juárez, who had been a liberal politician, and his middle names, Andrea and Amilcare, came from Italian socialists Andrea Costa and Amilcare Cipriani. With this ideology drummed into him from such a young age, Mussolini was very confident in his beliefs.

His problem was that he was as aggressive as he was smart. At home he was always moody and at school he gained a reputation as a bully to both pupils and teachers, so he was sent to a strict Catholic school in the nearby town of Faenza. While there he stabbed a fellow student with a penknife, threw stones at the congregation during Mass and hurled an inkpot at a teacher. He was expelled and moved to another school from which he managed to get good grades and a schoolteacher qualification in 1901. He made some money teaching in Italy for a while, but in 1902 he needed to escape the country.

In an age when conscientious objection wasn't recognised, conscription was a pacifist's worst nightmare. That was why Mussolini fled to Switzerland and moved from job to job, reading all the philosophy he could get his hands on. He devoured the works of Immanuel Kant, Friedrich Nietzsche and Baruch Spinoza, and he had a voracious interest in GWF Hegel, Peter Kropotkin and Georges Sorel. His ability and readiness to talk about all of these ideas made sure that he was noticed. It certainly didn't hurt that his oratory skills were excellent.

However, Switzerland wasn't a high point in Mussolini's life - while he honed his journalism skills and produced propaganda for a trade union, he couldn't find steady employment and was arrested for vagrancy. Work trickled in from socialist publications, but his involvement with socialist politics caught up to him. He was deported and finally undertook the military service he had set out to avoid in January 1905. Mussolini spent almost two years in the Italian

> **"AT HOME HE WAS ALWAYS MOODY AND AT SCHOOL HE GAINED A REPUTATION AS A BULLY TO BOTH PUPILS AND TEACHERS"**

Mussolini leads his Blackshirts in a demonstration in Rome in 1922

Mussolini and Hitler became close political allies just before World War II

Army before returning to teaching in September 1906. He then attended the University of Bologna to qualify to teach secondary school French - a language he had picked up in Switzerland - and then headed to Liguria in northwest Italy for his first post. But while he taught, Mussolini hadn't left his other skills behind. A socialist weekly paper called *La Lima* soon picked him up, and he signed his articles with the nom de plume Vero Eretico, or sincere heretic.

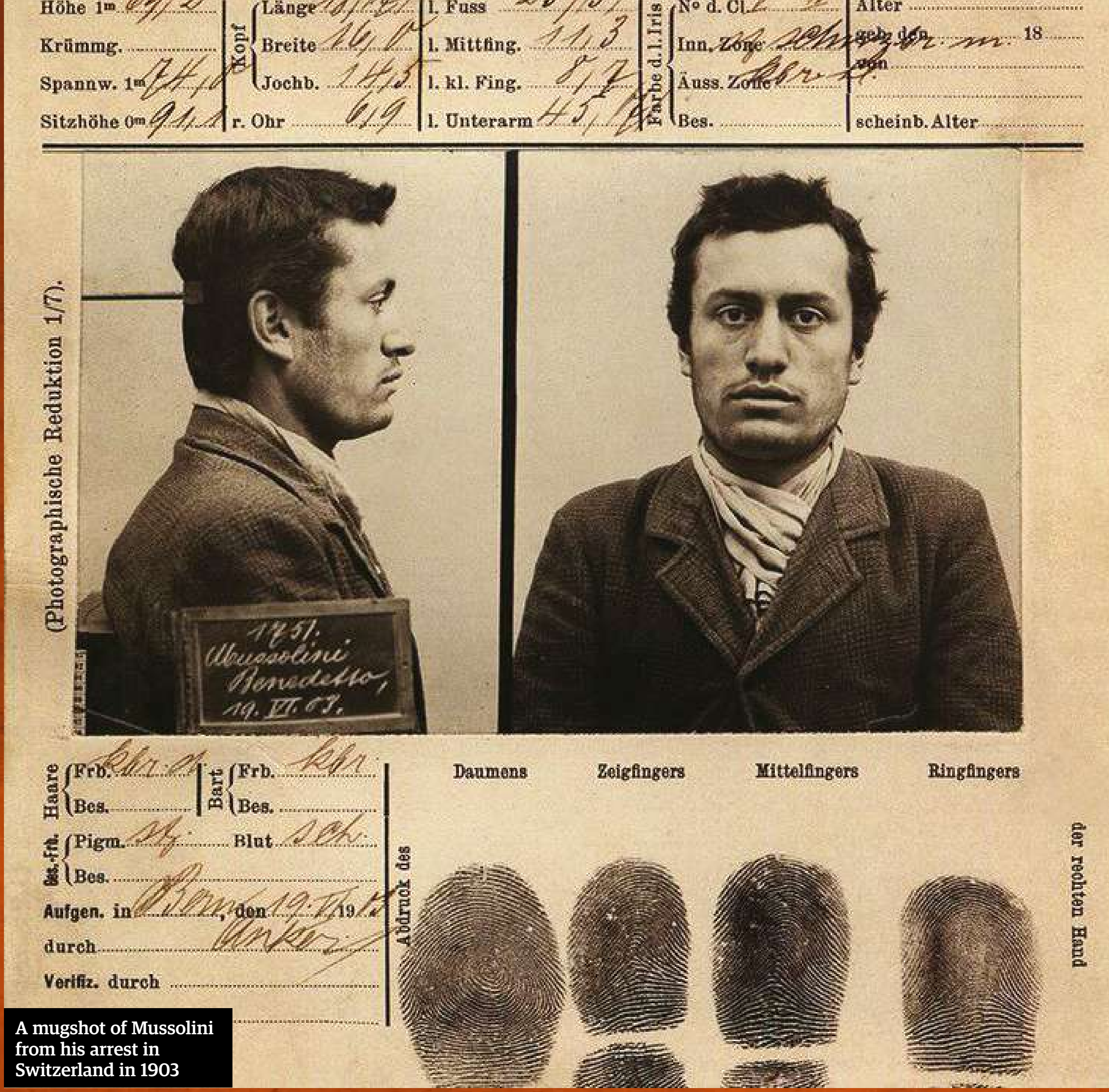
Early 1910 saw Mussolini move yet again, this time back to Forlì. His reputation preceded him and he founded a weekly periodical called *La Lotta di Classe*, or 'The Class Struggle'. Sales soared - everyone wanted to know about Forlì's foremost socialist's views on war, religion and politics in Italy. They lapped up his anti-clerical articles and murmured their agreements with his anti-military stance. He gained even more respect when he put his words into action.

In 1911 Italy was fighting in Libya, and the socialists in Forlì were unhappy - an emotion they displayed by rioting. Mussolini joined them and denounced the conflict as nothing more than "imperialist war". For his nerve he was imprisoned for five months, but immediately after his release he helped topple two members of the Socialist Party who had supported Italy's actions in taking Tripoli. The other party members were impressed - he was told that the editorship of *Avanti!* was his if he wanted it. Who was he to refuse? Here was the highest platform he could ask for in socialist journalism, and it had fallen right into his lap.

No one could have seen the success that was to follow. Circulation rocketed and the membership of Italy's Socialist Party rose by 20,000. Mussolini tried to ride the wave of support by running for parliament in October 1913, but while he failed the Socialist Party achieved the best result it had ever had, winning 53 out of parliament's 508 seats.

But it was what happened next that would change everything. Mussolini was a known antimilitarist, antinationalist and anti-imperialist, and as such he

One of the most famous and recognisable images of Mussolini



A mugshot of Mussolini from his arrest in Switzerland in 1903

abhorred Italy's entrance into World War I. The country had been allied with Germany and Austria-Hungary, but had then decided that they would not commit any troops to the fight. That fit in with socialist thinking – it wasn't their fight and, really, they had nothing to gain. So why did something not feel right to Mussolini?

One theory is that when war broke out in 1914, socialists all across Europe threw their principles to one side and climbed aboard their governments' views. Socialism had an international view, but countries were going to war with each other – nationalism was winning. Moreover, nationalism worked. But there was a problem: the Italian Socialist Party didn't agree. After publishing an article in *Avanti!* promoting 'active neutrality' over doing nothing, Mussolini was asked to leave the newspaper and he was expelled from the party. In 1914 his socialist life was over.

Mussolini took to nationalism wholeheartedly. He participated in demonstrations promoting Italian involvement in the war and he wrote for *Il Popolo d'Italia*, the newspaper that he founded in November 1914, advocating for Italy to join the Allies. But with no job, how was he running his newspaper? *Avanti!* ran the headline 'Chi paga?' ('Who pays?') in an attempt to discredit its former editor, alleging that he was receiving money from the French and British. They weren't entirely wrong. Money came from Italian companies like Fiat, but then from the French Socialist Party and, from 1917, the British government. Wherever the money came from, it didn't matter – the first issue ran at 30,000 copies and sold out.

In 1915 Italy finally declared war on Austria, but it wasn't good enough. He was only happy when war was declared on Germany a year later. However, he did enlist in the Italian Army in 1915 – a shock considering his previous anti-military beliefs. Mussolini spent a total of 17 months in the trenches, and he was even promoted to Corporal in February 1916 as he was "neglectful of privations, diligent and meticulous in the execution of his duty". However, in 1917 he would be honourably discharged from the army after an accident at a shooting range left him with pieces of shrapnel in his body.

Ousted from the army, it was back to journalism. He reported on the Italian government's resignation and, when the fighting on the Italian front ended on 4 November 1918, he was jubilant at Italy's involvement. War was over, but Italy's troubles weren't. The country got a bad deal and inflation skyrocketed. There were whispers of revolution – Russia had just taken down its monarchy, after all – and Mussolini realised that it was time to monopolise that.

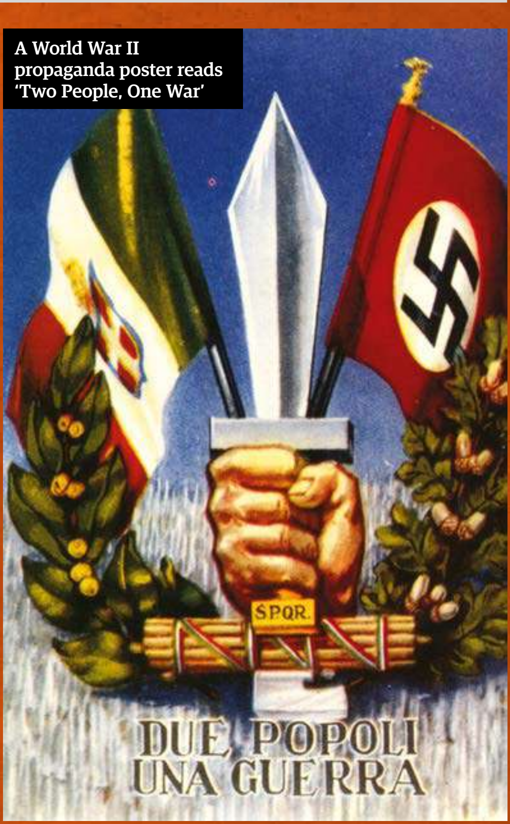
“THERE WERE WHISPERS OF REVOLUTION, AND MUSSOLINI REALISED THAT IT WAS TIME TO MONOPOLISE THAT”

In February 1918 he advocated for a dictatorship; the country would benefit from "a man who is ruthless and energetic enough to make a clean sweep". He hinted that maybe he was the right candidate and began to set things into motion, founding the Fasci di Combattimento, or Fighting Bands, on 23 March 1919, which was essentially a group of fighters. The meaning behind the name was that the different fighting groups were bound together by ties as close as those that secured the fasces, symbols of ancient Roman authority. It had finally happened – fascism had been born.

People really took to fascism, and Mussolini was the reason. His oratory skills were unparalleled, and his repetitive gestures captured attention. It didn't matter that his opinions were contradictory and that his facts were wrong – he captivated audiences at his rallies. Of course, the violence probably played a part in bringing people round to his way of thinking. Some Italians were so inspired by Mussolini's words that they created squads that burned down socialist property. People were terrorised, beaten and killed.

In 1920 the attacks were ramped up. The Blackshirts – so called for their uniforms – started

Mussolini was lucky enough to be rescued by German troops when he had been imprisoned in Italy



A World War II propaganda poster reads 'Two People, One War'

raiding local government buildings, and they stopped left-wingers from taking positions of power. Mussolini hadn't ordered any of this, but he didn't seem all too bothered about the actions being taken out in his name. The government didn't put up too much of a fight, either, and the left was getting weaker by the day. The final step would be to gain control of Italy, and the perfect chance was just around the corner.

When what was left of Italy's trade unions decided to strike in the summer of 1922, Mussolini offered an ultimatum: if the government didn't stop the strike, his fascists would. The government did nothing, and so many of Mussolini's followers volunteered to carry out the threat. The strike was put down. Just a couple of months later around 40,000 fascists met in Naples, and Mussolini knew the time was right. He addressed the crowd and firmly declared, "Either the government will be given to us, or we will seize it by marching on Rome." The response was instant – the room was filled with cries of "Roma! Roma! Roma!"

The plan was simple: the militia would advance on the capital, and supporters from all across Italy joined in the March on Rome. There was nothing the government could do – Mussolini was demanding power and he had the numbers to get what he wanted. King Victor Emmanuel III caved and sent a telegram to his new prime minister; the youngest in Italian history. Il Duce was born.

From the start, Mussolini began to create his dream totalitarian state. His first goal was to get special emergency powers, and he was granted a year-long dictatorship – now it was time to get stuck in. His Blackshirts were consolidated into the army and he dismantled the trade unions. He rigged elections so that the Fascist Party held most of parliament's seats and then made suspicion of being anti-fascist punishable by imprisonment without trial. Socialist publishing was restricted – an ironic act considering Il Duce's past, but no one dared bring that up.

But, at the start, his actions weren't considered horrific or terrifying. A considerable amount of the population was happy with the changes – they were sick of strikes and just wanted the economy fixed. They wanted the chaos of post-war Italy to have some order and structure. Some of them were so engrossed in the good that they missed the warning signs. Democracy died a quiet death and the country became a one-party state. Free speech was done away with. Secret police were beginning to appear in every city, watching on from the shadows. Things got worse in 1924. In parliament, Giacomo Matteotti, a prominent socialist politician, had been making criticisms about Mussolini's government. Matteotti was a brave man to speak out, but it got him killed – the prime minister's henchmen kidnapped and murdered him. Mussolini had known nothing of this plan and the assassin, Amerigo Dumini, was imprisoned. Plots to kill Mussolini emerged, but still he ploughed on. He wasn't going to lose control until he was dead.

Propaganda was everywhere. Mussolini's brother was now running *Il Popolo* and 66 per cent of

MUSSOLINI'S MISTRESSES

When you're busy trying to raise your political profile and writing non-stop for socialist papers, how do you blow off steam? For Mussolini the answer was simple: women. He had many romantic liaisons throughout his life – both out of love and extramarital.

Mussolini's most well-known partner was Rachele Guidi, who he married in 1915. The daughter of Mussolini's father's girlfriend, she bore the dictator five children and, as far as we're aware, she didn't seem too fussed at her husband's habit of sleeping with other women. When World War II was coming to an end she tried to flee Italy, but was captured and handed over to US forces. However, after serving just a few months she was released, and she opened a restaurant in Emilia-Romagna.

Clara Petacci's story will also forever be entwined with Mussolini's. She was only 20 when she began her affair with the married dictator, and she would go on to be killed by his side in a hail of bullets.

In total Mussolini is thought to have been with hundreds of women, some one-night stands and others longer flings. He certainly started young – he was thought to have lost his virginity aged 17 to a prostitute – and he was said to have had a voracious sexual appetite, with the dictator himself saying that "there was a time when I had 14 women and took three or four them every evening, one after the other".

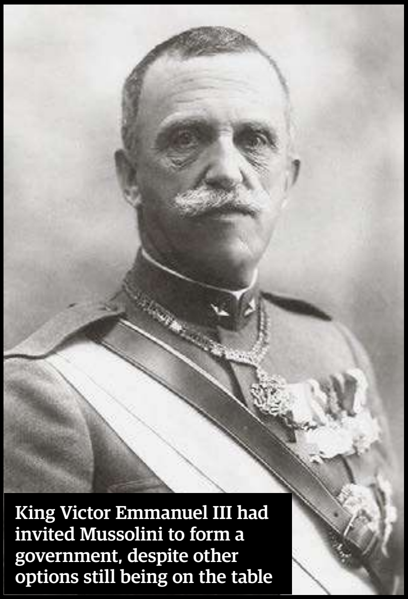
The Mussolini family on the beach in Levanto. At the front are Benito and Rachele's three children, Edda, Bruno and Vittorio

WHAT WAS THE KING DOING?

In 1922, one man stood between Benito Mussolini and the position of prime minister. All that King Victor Emmanuel III (Vittorio Emanueli in Italian) had to do to stop Mussolini was sign a decree declaring martial law – instead he gave into Mussolini's demands and invited him to make a government. But with a fascist dictator now in charge, what happened to the Italian monarch?

Victor became a puppet. He was there for the pomp and ceremony, but hardly served any real purpose. At the beginning the Italians didn't really worry about it too much – Mussolini seemed to offer everything that they needed, and the king had done the right thing by putting him into power. However, over time they began to realise that perhaps having the slightly unpopular sovereign rule could have yielded better results. Having said that, his lack of response to Mussolini's anti-Semitic laws did lose him some support across the country.

The monarch did benefit a little from Mussolini's rule, though. When the dictator captured Abyssinia in 1935, Victor Emmanuel was made emperor. However, the king managed to stay on the very thin political tightrope and when the British liberated Abyssinia in 1941 he immediately renounced his title. It was also Victor Emmanuel who ordered the arrest of the dictator in 1943, but it was too late for his reputation. He'd been passively letting Mussolini get away with everything for too long, and so he abdicated in favour of his son Umberto in 1946.


King Victor Emmanuel III had invited Mussolini to form a government, despite other options still being on the table

The Italian dictator was known for his oratory skills, even though his speeches were factually inaccurate

Italian newspapers were owned by the Fascist Party. Cinemas had to show approved newsreels and a youth group called the Opera Nazionale Balilla was founded, with children pressured to join. The Boy Scouts and other youth groups were made illegal. It was fascism or imprisonment.

Then Il Duce did something that his old socialist self would have rioted against – he tried to found an empire. Italy invaded Ethiopia in October 1935, and the conflict was nothing short of horrific. The Italians dropped gas bombs on their target, killing civilians in the process, all so that Mussolini could announce on 9 May 1936 that the Italian Empire had been born.

Mussolini wasn't the only one causing a stir in the 1930s, though. In Germany Adolf Hitler was ruling with an equally aggressive army of thugs behind him. He'd been the only European leader to support Mussolini's foray into empire building and a friendship was formed – they were just two fascist dictators against the world. They cemented their relationship in the Rome-Berlin Axis agreement of 1936, which then developed into the Pact of Steel, which was ratified on 22 May 1939. Mussolini even went so far as to take Hitler's religious advice on board, resulting in him passing anti-Semitic laws that paved the way for 20 per cent of Italy's Jews to be sent to German concentration camps. Italy and Germany were officially allies, and war was just around the corner.

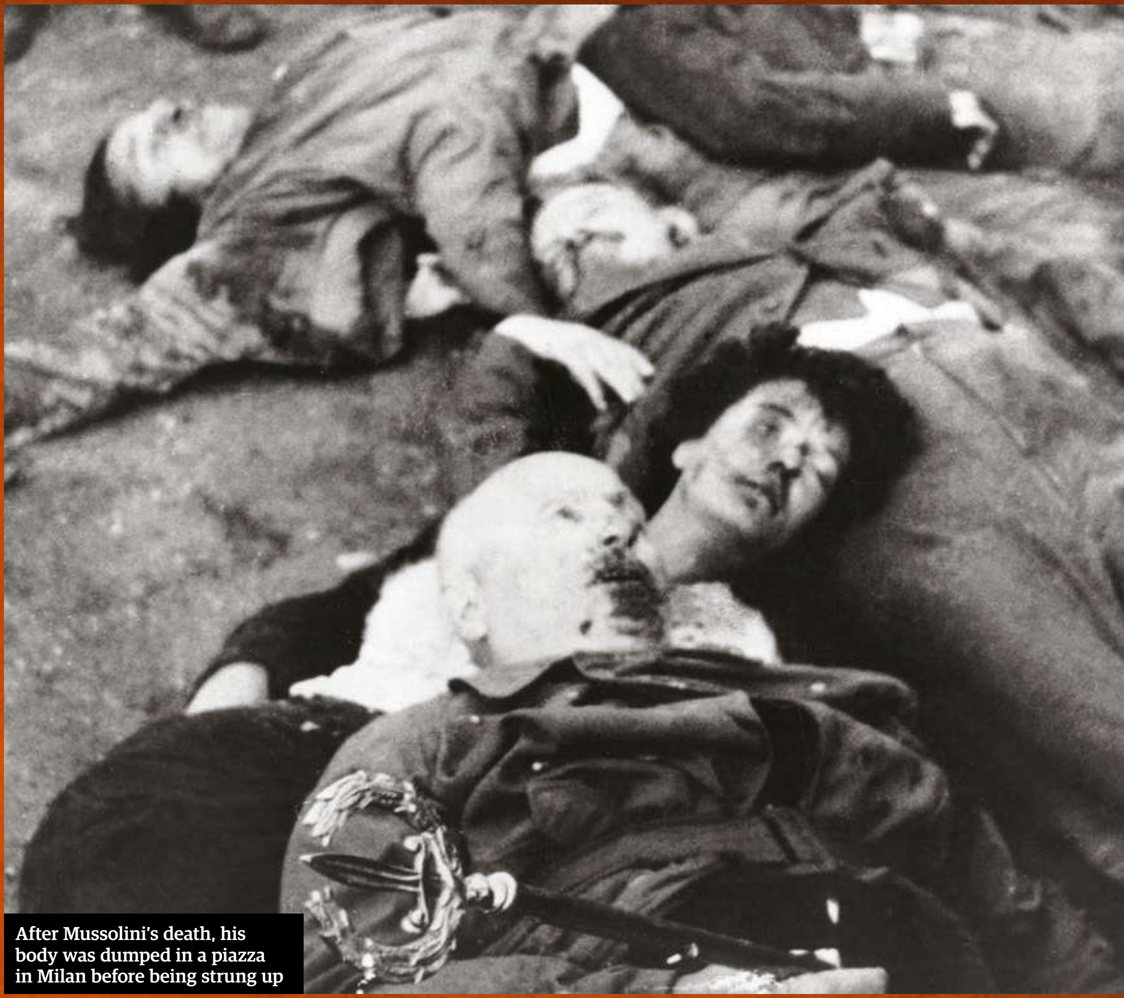
War was not kind to Italy. In fact, Mussolini didn't really want to enter the conflict – why would he want to "march blindly with the Germans" and bankrupt his country? Ultimately, however, the commitment he had made to Hitler won out, and Mussolini declared war on the Allies.

It was the wrong time. Before the Italian troops could be mobilised, France had surrendered – there went any hope of a victory. Mussolini now played second fiddle in the Axis alliance, and surprise German attacks were kept secret for fear of the Italians ruining them. It was an embarrassment. So Mussolini decided to go out on his own.

Greece was the target for Mussolini's great military attack in 1940, and he didn't inform the Germans out of spite. It was a mistake: Italy's military had never been known for being great and Mussolini wasn't exactly a great strategist. The Germans had to come to his aid. And then the same thing happened again in North Africa in 1943. Things weren't great at home, either – the people were done with a war they were never going to win, and they were done with their prime minister who seemed to be chasing personal glory instead of looking after them.

The government was worried, too. The Allies invaded Sicily in July 1943, successfully taking over the island, and on the 24th the Fascist Grand Council met and decided that they'd had enough. Mussolini was to stand down. Naturally, the prime minister refused to leave his post and turned up to work the next morning as usual. He thought he was fine and that it was an event that would just blow over – the Fascist Council surely supported

> "ITALY AND GERMANY WERE OFFICIALLY ALLIES, AND WAR WAS JUST AROUND THE CORNER"



After Mussolini's death, his body was dumped in a piazza in Milan before being strung up

him. He realised how wrong he was when he was arrested that afternoon.

Deposed and humiliated, Mussolini found himself imprisoned. First it was on the island of Ponza, and then a small island off the coast of Sardinia. At least he had the Mediterranean sunshine - until concern emerged that the Germans would try to break him out. He was quickly transported to a hotel in the Abruzzo mountains. His captors were wrong to think Mussolini was safely locked away there - German commandos crash-landed gliders in the mountains and took him back to Munich.

There was a caveat to Il Duce's freedom. Mussolini was to return to the north of Italy and set up a new fascist state, the Repubblica Sociale Italiana, or Italian Social Republic. It was a chance for him to run a country again, to show that he was powerful - only it wasn't. Mussolini openly admitted to visitors that it was just a puppet state under Germany's control. He was trapped with no way out while Italian fascists tortured and deported anyone who didn't agree with their doctrine in his name.

The Allies were making their way up the Italian peninsula. Everyone knew what the goal was: Mussolini was to be executed. Mussolini refused to take the safe option of flying out of the country, instead dressing as a German soldier and trying to cross the border into Austria in a convoy of German military vehicles with his then-mistress Claretta Petacci on 27 April 1945. The plan was doomed to fail - when your face has been used in pro-state propaganda for years, you're bound to get rumbled when you're wearing a sub-par disguise. Mussolini and Petacci were taken from the group and kept in a farmhouse overnight. The next day they were taken to a small town on the shore of Lake Como. The couple were ordered to stand in front of a stone wall, and with pounding hearts they finally met their ends. Benito Mussolini, aged 61, was killed by a machine gun, which was likely held by communist partisan commander Walter Audisio.

You'd think that was the end, but Mussolini's enemies weren't finished. His corpse, along with that of Petacci and 14 other fascists, was dumped unceremoniously in Milan's Piazzale Loreto in intentional poetic irony. Just eight months before the bodies of 15 executed partisans had been displayed as a strong message that anti-fascists would be killed. Milan's residents were jubilant - they took great pleasure in hurling vegetables at the fresh corpses, and they spat, beat and kicked to their hearts' content. The man who had caused so much misery was dead; it was time for revenge.

Mussolini was buried in an unmarked grave, but everyone knew where it was. Anti-fascists spent the next year desecrating it before some of the former leader's loyal supporters dug up his body. Finally, after being lost and found and delivered to his widow, Mussolini's corpse was buried in the family crypt in Predappio. His legacy wasn't buried with him. Italians were angry at what he had done to their country. Mussolini had held on to power for 20 long years through lynchings of political opponents, military force and subversive political tactics. Democracy was welcomed with open arms, and in the 1948 elections a neo-fascist party that had held on to the dead dictator's ideals only received two per cent of the vote.

Il Popolo d'Italia
FONDATORE
BENITO MUSSOLINI

In 1937, a motorbike advertises Il Popolo, boasting that its founder was Mussolini himself

Mussolini is seen as the father of fascism - he did create it, after all. However, he is usually overshadowed by the notorious leader who took many of his ideas and came closer to succeeding. Mussolini can be seen as an inept ruler, letting his personal goals get in the way of cultivating the great country he thought he was capable of, and he was certainly not a military man. Towards the end, Mussolini often wondered what history would think of him and, truthfully, it has not been kind to Il Duce. It's a reputation that seems deserved.

FRANCISCO FRANCO

WRITTEN BY: **DAVID CROOKES**

Victorious in Spain's bloody civil war, this military man became Europe's longest serving dictator

When Francisco Franco Bahamonde died on 20 November 1975, tens of thousands of Spaniards visited the royal palace of Madrid and filed past the bier as his body lay in state. The 82-year-old's death was expected, given he had suffered a relapse of his heart condition a month earlier, but the passing of the self-proclaimed caudillo – the Spanish equivalent of the führer – had nevertheless caused tears to flow. But were they tears of grief or relief? For as the flags flew at half-mast and normal TV and radio broadcasts were suspended while Spain was officially in mourning, opinion was split, just as it was during his life. Some people worried about the future – "enemies of Spain and of Christian civilisation are on the alert," Franco had said on his deathbed – while others were simply thankful: after all, 39 years of absolute, authoritarian power had come to an end.

Franco was a dictator like Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini, Joseph Stalin and António de Oliveira Salazar, only he had been in power for longer than any of them and could not be strictly termed a fascist. His rise to power had been phenomenal given Franco was generally perceived as shy and ill at ease in his younger years. He had been a timid and lonely child, "withdrawn to the point of icy detachment", according to the respected biographer and historian Paul Preston, and few felt they truly understood him.

Born at 12.30am on 4 December 1892 in the town of El Ferrol in the north west of Spain, Franco grew up slight in stature, and suffered at the hands of bullies as a result. He had been deeply affected by the separation of his parents but he desperately sought approval from his father, Nicolás Franco y Salgado Araújo. He felt that he could never match his favoured elder brother, Nicolás, and even when he joined the Spanish Army on 29 August 1907, he still sensed paternal disappointment. To his father, he was merely "my other son" yet joining the army would see his standing in wider Spanish society soar.

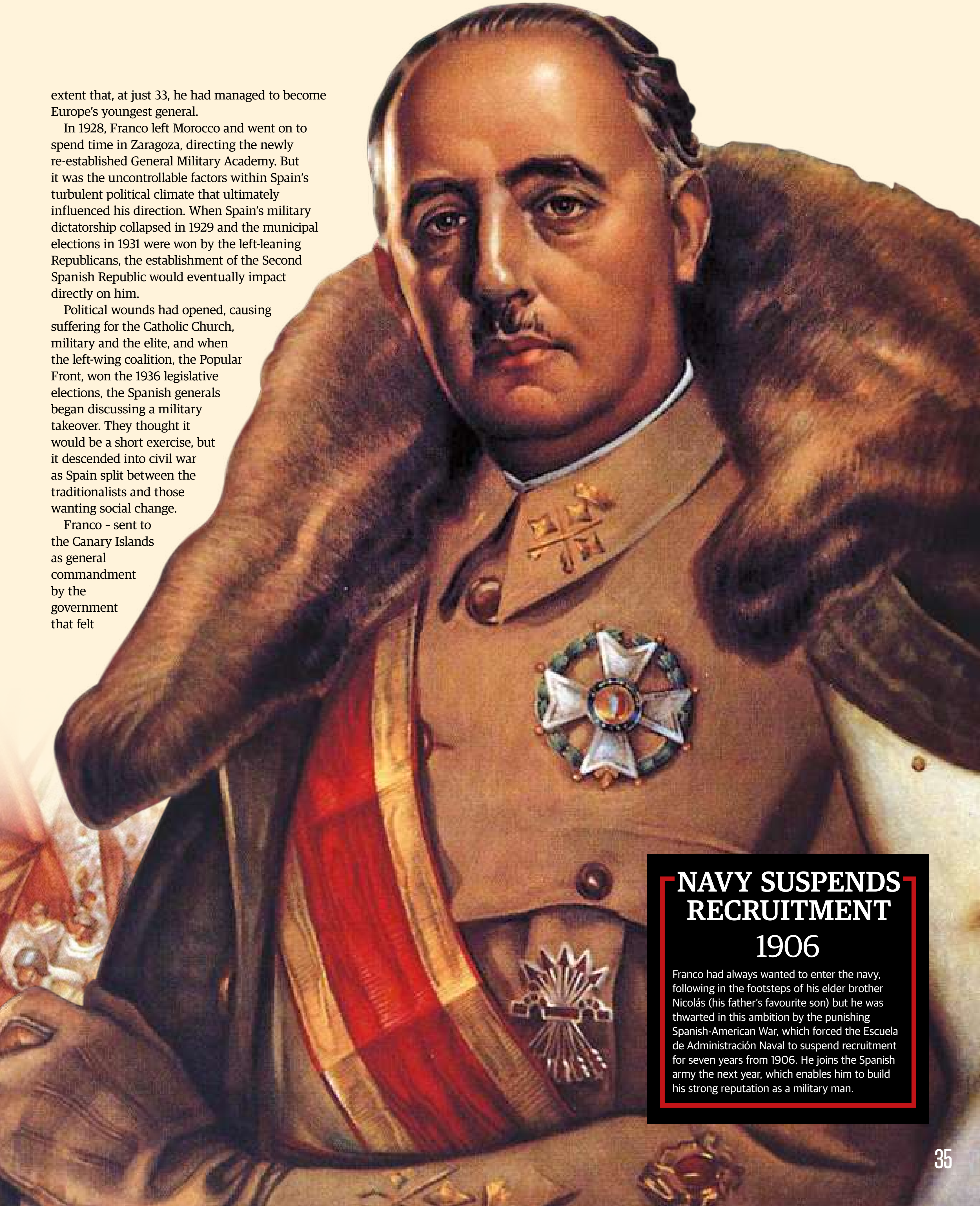
Nicknamed Franquito, or little Franco, by those who sought to poke fun at his size and high-pitched voice, Franco completed his army studies in July 1910 and emerged with a yearning to help fight an ongoing colonial war in Morocco. Instilled with a loathing for the left-wing activists, he got his wish to head for Africa on 6 February 1912, throwing himself into his role to such an

extent that, at just 33, he had managed to become Europe's youngest general.

In 1928, Franco left Morocco and went on to spend time in Zaragoza, directing the newly re-established General Military Academy. But it was the uncontrollable factors within Spain's turbulent political climate that ultimately influenced his direction. When Spain's military dictatorship collapsed in 1929 and the municipal elections in 1931 were won by the left-leaning Republicans, the establishment of the Second Spanish Republic would eventually impact directly on him.

Political wounds had opened, causing suffering for the Catholic Church, military and the elite, and when the left-wing coalition, the Popular Front, won the 1936 legislative elections, the Spanish generals began discussing a military takeover. They thought it would be a short exercise, but it descended into civil war as Spain split between the traditionalists and those wanting social change.

Franco - sent to the Canary Islands as general commandment by the government that felt



NAVY SUSPENDS RECRUITMENT

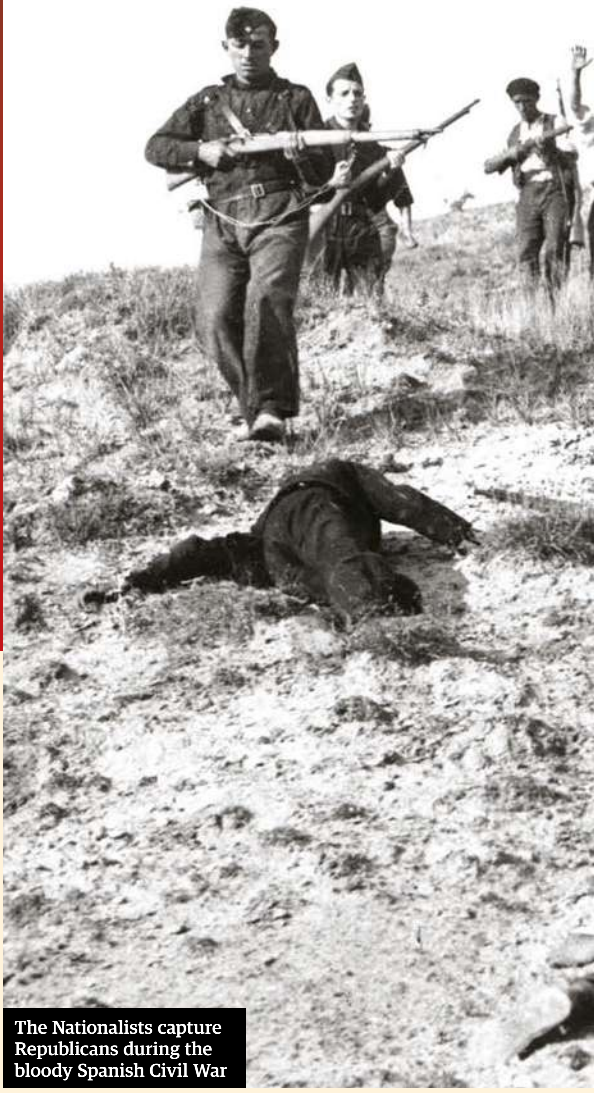
1906

Franco had always wanted to enter the navy, following in the footsteps of his elder brother Nicolás (his father's favourite son) but he was thwarted in this ambition by the punishing Spanish-American War, which forced the Escuela de Administración Naval to suspend recruitment for seven years from 1906. He joins the Spanish army the next year, which enables him to build his strong reputation as a military man.

FRANCO MEETS ADOLF HITLER - 1940

Having won the civil war with the Nationalists and successfully become Spain's dictator, Franco manages to avoid taking his country into World War II. He agrees to meet with Hitler, but the meeting does not go too well. The Führer will say afterwards that he would rather have several of his teeth removed than meet Franco again, dubbing him "not a hero but a little pipsqueak."

Franco meets with Adolf Hitler in Hendaye, France, to discuss Spain's possible participation in World War II



The Nationalists capture Republicans during the bloody Spanish Civil War

uncertain of his loyalty – initially stayed low despite being a key military figure. At first he refused to join the rebels but eventually changed his mind, and one of his first moves was to draft in the Army of Africa from Morocco back to Spain, having them airlifted by German-supplied Junkers transport planes and shipped protected by air cover from Italian bombers. His stock rose, so much so that in 1937, the Nationalists sought a commander in chief and offered Franco the role of generalissimo. With the assistance of professional foreign fighters and a unified party of right-wingers, the Republicans began to be overwhelmed and Franco was named chief of the Spanish State and its government until the war was won. Yet the general had his own ideas.

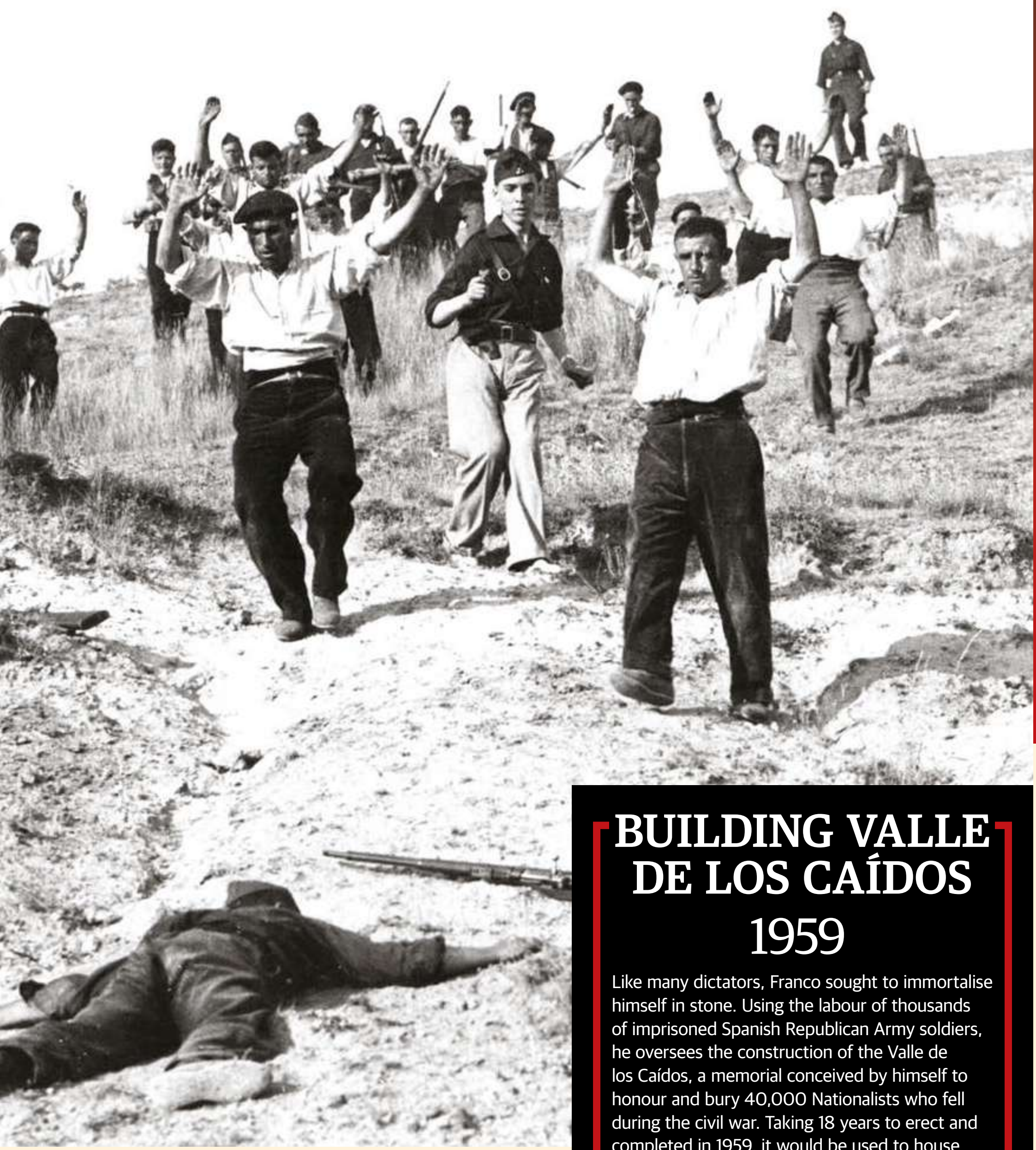
As if to understand his way of thinking, he had vowed to save Spain from the Marxists "at whatever cost" and when told it could mean shooting half of Spain, Franco smiled and said: "I repeat, at whatever cost." Some assumed that Franco was deliberately prolonging the civil war so that he could do a thorough job of eradicating the Republicans, seeing cities from Barcelona to Valencia and Madrid fall one by one. But the longer he held on to power, the harder it was going to be to wrestle it away from him.

He was not averse to displaying posters of himself around Spain and did not shy from sanctioning extreme war tactics. In one atrocity on 26 April 1937, up to 800 people perished in the German air bombing of the Basque town of Guernica as Hitler used Spain as a training ground. Nor did he blink when allowing scores of liberals, communists, socialists, intellectuals, anarchists and separatists to be killed during la Represión Franquista, or the Francoist Repression. In fact, Franco used the word 'limpieza' to describe the strategy that, in English, means cleansing. It continued well after Spain came under Franco's control in 1939 and is thought to have been responsible for the deaths of 200,000 people.

Franco was working 14 hours a day at his desk but he was neglecting his family. He had married María del Carmen Polo y Martínez-Valdès in 1923 and the couple had a daughter, María del Carmen, three years later. When the two returned from exile in France, he kept them waiting for more than an hour as he continued to work on plans to re-establish a conservative Roman Catholic Spain.

By 1940, Franco had gained the diplomatic recognition of all countries except the USSR and Mexico and reduced the size of the Spanish Army from 1 million to 250,000. He was applauded for not joining World War II and it was seen as

"HE ALLOWED SCORED OF LIBERALS, COMMUNISTS, SOCIALISTS, INTELLECTUALS, ANARCHISTS AND SEPARATISTS TO BE KILLED"



Taken in 1975, this was one of Franco's final inspections of Spanish troops

Franco took great pride in his military background

BUILDING VALLE DE LOS CAÍDOS

1959

Like many dictators, Franco sought to immortalise himself in stone. Using the labour of thousands of imprisoned Spanish Republican Army soldiers, he oversees the construction of the Valle de los Caídos, a memorial conceived by himself to honour and bury 40,000 Nationalists who fell during the civil war. Taking 18 years to erect and completed in 1959, it would be used to house Franco's own body upon his death.

his greatest achievement along with his desire to protect Jews from the Axis powers. In truth, Franco met with Hitler on 23 October 1940 in Hendaye, France and told the Führer – who he also kept waiting for an hour, much to Hitler's chagrin – that he wanted French Morocco, part of French Algeria and French Cameroon for Spain. The Führer would not agree.

Some say Franco's demands were a delaying tactic, buying time to stabilise Spain, allow the country to recover and keep open diplomatic relations with the Allies. Others suppose he was over-estimating Hitler's desire for Spanish involvement. Either way, the Führer was unimpressed by the proposals yet Franco continued to court Hitler, sending the Blue Division to the Russian front, allowing Germany the use of Spain's harbours and, shockingly, providing the SS with a list of 6,000 Jews (it was found in the Spanish archives in 2010 but had never been acted upon).

When the war ended, Franco's neutrality ensured he remained untouched. Even though an 11-page document found in the archives of the Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores in 1997 showed he had offered 100 Nazis asylum, he was free to continue building Spain in his image. He pursued an economic policy of autarky (self-sufficiency), which cut off almost all international trade. It led to the Years of Hunger, and about 200,000 people died of starvation.

Yet Franco's position was in no danger and was even bolstered by the Cold War. The USA had denounced Franco's regime in 1946 but opened talks with Spain in 1953, resulting in the two countries signing the Pact of Madrid, handing economic and military aid to Spain while allowing the US to station bombers and aircraft carriers in and around the country. Already supported by Catholics (the civil war was presented as a crusade against Bolshevism) and traditionalists, Franco felt this gave him global legitimacy. He revelled in his new-found status.

At the same time, he sought internal assistance. The politician Lopez Rodo and the new technocrats signed Spain to the Bretton Woods System in 1959 with the peseta pegged at a value of 60 pesetas to $1, which allowed Spain to flourish in the 1960s. Yet Franco's regime banned cultural activities that departed from national tradition and it de-recognised the Basque, Galician and Catalan languages. Two representatives of the conservative Catholic institution Opus Dei, ministers of Franco's regime, set up university-purging committees that sought to find 'ill-fitting' political or religious ideas and science teaching that contradicted the Bible. There was no chance of a free election to change things: Franco had been regent for life since 1947 and it was for him to appoint a successor (he selected Juan Carlos, grandson of King Alfonso XIII) not the people.

But as time went on, so Franco's regime relaxed. He took credit for investing in administration and industry while easing press censorship and police control. Those who shared his beliefs enjoyed the rise in living standards. Yet for the repressed separatists and those who wanted Spain to recognise its diversity, the end of Franco was liberating. Shortly after his death, Carlos transitioned the country to a pluralist democracy. It has been so ever since.

THE GOOD(ISH) DICTATOR?

WRITTEN BY: **EDOARDO ALBERT**

The competition might not be that great, but there is a case for calling Portugal's António Salazar one of the least malevolent of the 20th century's dictators

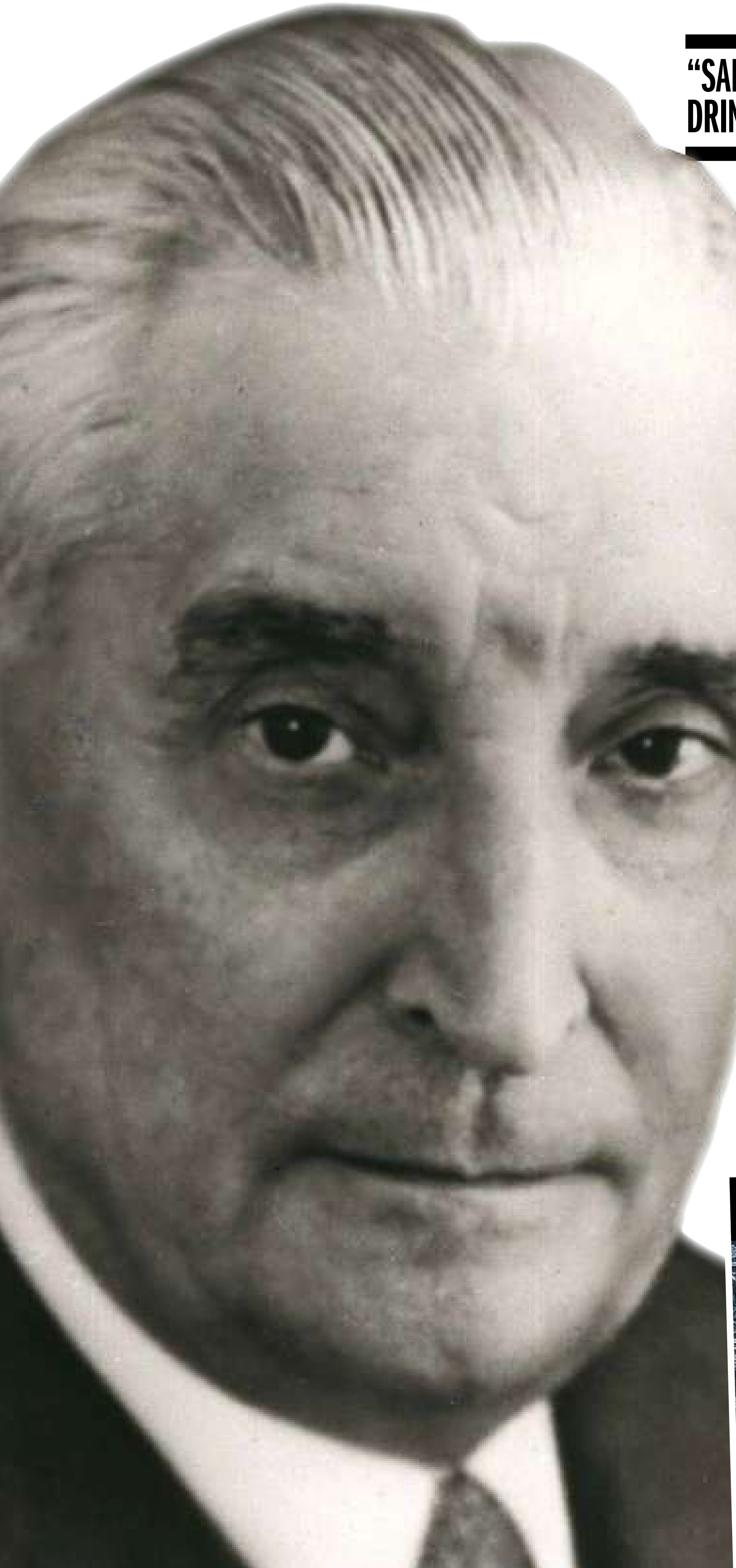
In an age where dictators were killing their own people en masse and invading other countries to satisfy their lust for power, Portugal's António Salazar bucked the trend. A conservative Catholic economist with austere tastes and a strong religious background, Salazar was Prime Minister of Portugal for 36 years, presiding over an era that was certainly authoritarian yet mostly lacked the worst excesses of dictatorship. He died peacefully in his bed aged 81 and in 2006 was voted the 'Greatest Portuguese Ever' in a national poll. Of the many European dictators of the 20th century - Hitler, Mussolini, Franco among them - he is the one whom history is most likely to treat kindly.

So who was António de Oliveira Salazar? Outside Portugal he is virtually unknown today, and even in Portugal many of the public buildings named in his honour were renamed following the 1974 Carnation Revolution in an attempt to erase the overthrown dictator's legacy. But it is a tribute both to Salazar and his political enemies that even the end of his political career was achieved almost without bloodshed.

António de Oliveira Salazar was born on 28 April 1889 in Vimieiro, Santa Comba Dão in north-central Portugal. The young António was the last of five children - his siblings were all sisters - born to António de Oliveira (1839-1932) and his wife Maria do Resgate Salazar (1845-1926). The family were of what we might call the lower middle-class; Salazar's father had started as a labourer before saving enough money to buy some land. Maria, Salazar's mother, was ambitious for her boy, and to get him the best education possible enrolled him at the seminary in Visieu, a couple of miles east of their home.

On completing his studies at the seminary, Salazar took minor vows. While he had been nicknamed 'Father António' in his home village, he did not pursue priestly formation any further - though Salazar's faith was profound

Salazar meeting American President Dwight D Eisenhower

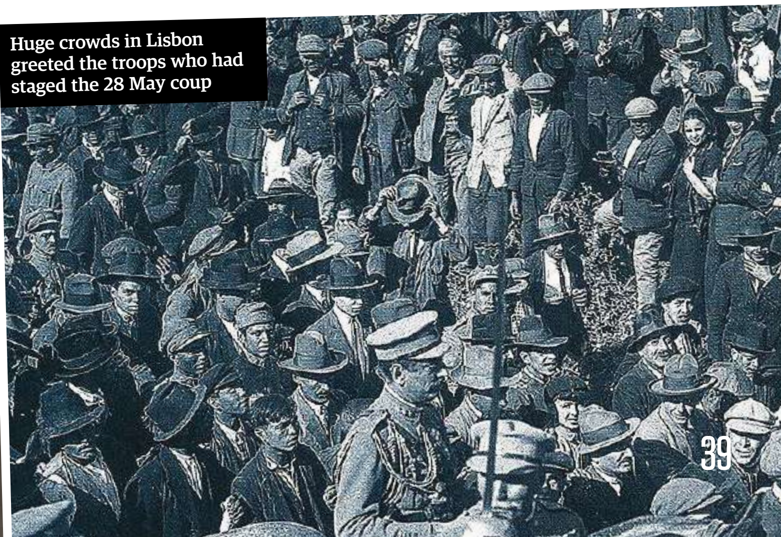


“SALAZAR ENJOYED THE COMPANY OF WOMEN AND DRINKING CHAMPAGNE WHILE AT UNIVERSITY”

and lifelong and remains one of the keys to understanding and unlocking his thoughts and deeds. Instead, Salazar enrolled at the University of Coimbra – which was founded in 1290 and is one of the longest-established universities in the world – where he studied law. At university, in contrast to his later austere approach and behaviour, Salazar enjoyed the company of women and drinking champagne, but he worried constantly that hanging out with the university fast set in expensive restaurants would place too great a strain on the meagre family budget.

Conscious of this, Salazar took work as a tutor, which he later credited for the successful completion of his studies. “Tutoring did two things for me: it kept me in the university and it kept me out of trouble.” As a portent of things to come, after his graduation with high honours Salazar took a job at the Law School at Coimbra and used his salary there to make small investments. When these turned a profit he astutely bought plots of land in his home village. To save money he shared a flat with a priest, who later became the patriarch of Lisbon. Meanwhile, the country was falling apart around him.

On 5 October 1910, a republican revolution deposed the Portuguese monarchy and installed a republic in its place. Salazar was only 21 when the revolution broke out, and as a young man he lived through the 16 years of turmoil, anarchy, religious persecution, corruption and instability that came in its wake. Between the 5 October revolution and the military coup on 28 May 1926, the country had eight presidents and 38 prime ministers; no government lasted longer than a year, the currency crashed while the cost of living for Portuguese people rocketed, and political assassinations became a common occurrence. The Republicans were virulently anti-Catholic, suppressing all religious orders and closing monasteries and convents. Various governments came and went in a dizzying spin that went even further out of



Huge crowds in Lisbon greeted the troops who had staged the 28 May coup

Humberto Delgado embraces a friend. Sadly, Delgado later made an enemy of Salazar and the PIDE

António Salazar, Prime Minister and dictator of Portugal for nearly 40 years

control with Portugal's entry into the chaos of World War I in 1916.

Terrorism is not only a modern phenomenon: 325 terrorist-planted bombs exploded in Lisbon alone between 1920 and 1925. Against this background, it's perhaps not surprising that a coup d'état organised by junior army officers with a figurehead of General Manuel Gomes da Costa was greeted with something approaching relief by most of the country. For many Portuguese people the previous decade and a half suggested that a government based on opposing political parties was inherently unstable and would inevitably lead to conflict.

For some, this meant looking into non-democratic ways of ruling the country. For Salazar and a group of influential intellectuals in Portugal, the solution was corporatism. This is not government by corporations but rather government by groups of people with common interests or occupations who together have an interest in the stability and furtherance of the state. These groups might include the army, the medical profession, the church, trades guilds and labour unions. The corporatism that Salazar would go on to espouse had its basis in Catholic social teaching, which sought to navigate a path between unfettered capitalism and its destruction of workers' rights, and communism and its abrogation of civil rights.

During the succession of republican governments, Salazar had joined the Centro Académico de Democracia Cristã (Academic Centre for Christian Democracy), a Catholic movement that was not politically affiliated, and despite a certain reluctance on his part, he even ran for parliament in the 1921 elections. Duly elected, Salazar attended parliament once only to be appalled at the sectarian chaos on display there. He did not go back. So far as Salazar was concerned, rampant individualism was destroying

THE MURDER OF HUMBERTO DELGADO

When the presidential elections of 1958 came round, António Salazar expected the usual shoe-in for his regime candidate, Américo Tomás. However, opposition parties were allowed to field a candidate, and they united around the figure of the Portuguese Air Force general Humberto Delgado. An early supporter of the Estado Novo, Delgado had imbibed democratic principles during his time serving as an attaché in America and wanted to bring some of those principles back to Portugal. When he decided to run for president, there was no expectation that he would cause an upset, but an interview Delgado gave on 10 May 1958 electrified Portugal, for, when asked what he would do with his Prime Minister, Salazar, should he be elected president, Delgado replied, "Obviamente, demito-o!" ("Obviously, I'll sack him!")

Under the constitution, the president had the right to dismiss the prime minister, but such a possibility had never been mooted with respect to Salazar. Delgado ran a barnstorming campaign, crisscrossing the country, but in the election he only won 23.6 per cent of the vote, although there was a general belief that the PIDE rigged the election. After the election Delgado was cashiered from the military and went into exile, where he began agitating for the overthrow of the Salazar regime. Then, on 13 February 1965, Delgado went to a clandestine meeting with opposition figures near the Spanish town of Badajoz. It was a set up. Delgado and his secretary were met by PIDE agents, who killed them. In 2016, Lisbon's main airport was renamed in Delgado's honour.

Salazar is seen here voting in the 1958 presidential elections, which many people believe was rigged

“DESPITE HIS AUSTERE APPROACH, AS PRIME MINISTER SALAZAR BROOKED NO OPPOSITION. HE’D TURNED AGAINST DEMOCRACY”

the social solidarity necessary for the functioning of a polity.

At his post at Coimbra University Salazar earned a reputation as an economics guru. The leaders of the coup wasted little time in recruiting him, a group of officers driving to his office to offer him the post of Minister of Finance. Salazar accepted, but after five days in office he resigned, saying that the constraints placed upon him were such that he could not do the job asked of him: balance Portugal’s disastrously overdrawn budget.

As the military government sought to bring Portugal’s debt under control, Salazar stayed away from Lisbon. His distance from the chaotic conditions in the capital only served to heighten the air of gravitas and knowledge that had begun to accrue around the sage of Coimbra. Then, with the country on the brink of financial collapse, the military government again pleaded with Salazar to take over as Minister of Finance. Salazar agreed, subject to the condition that he, as Minister of Finance, would have absolute power to veto spending in any other government department. Now, anyone who has worked in government knows that the most significant power is that of approving or denying budgets. But by this time the military junta was desperate to find someone who could bring the country’s finances under control. They agreed to Salazar’s conditions, and on 26 April 1928 he became the Minister of Finance for Portugal.

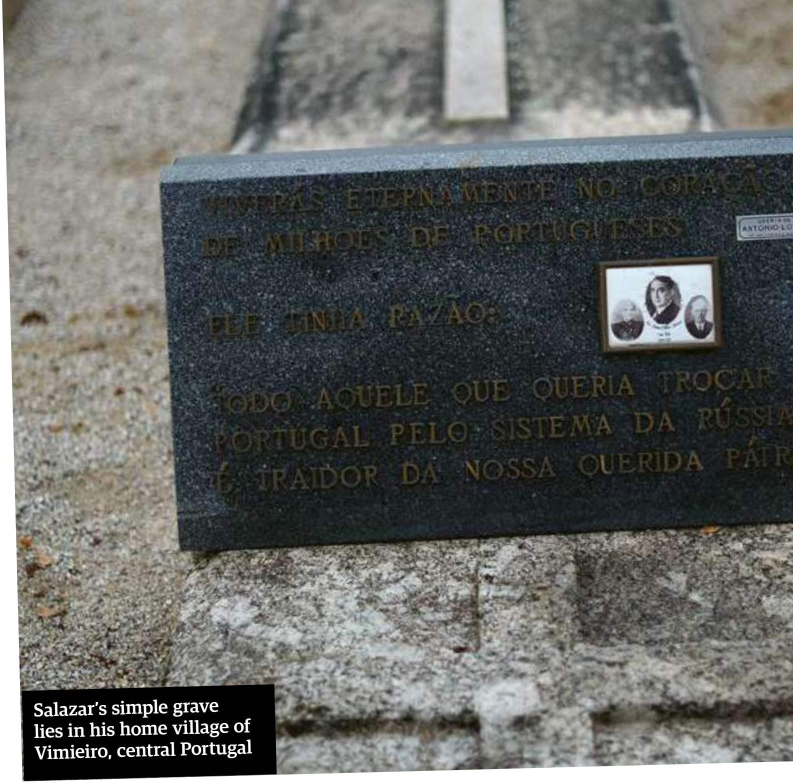
A year later Portugal’s budget was in the black and its currency had stabilised. Salazar had, apparently, worked an economic miracle. Over the next few years, while the economy slowly improved, the military government tried out a succession of prime ministers, each as short-lasting as under the previous republican administrations. All this time Salazar continued as the Minister of Finance, steadily cultivating an aura of financial probity and administrative competence. So when in July 1932 the President of Portugal, António Carmona, needed to appoint yet another prime minister, he turned to the only minister who had demonstrated unflagging competence over the preceding years. Salazar was the 100th prime minister of Portugal and he would hold the office until 25 September 1968.

Salazar’s hold on the government’s purse strings was notoriously tight, but it was no less than the restraint that he applied to himself. At his modest home, he had two separate electric meters, upstairs and downstairs. Downstairs, where he held political meetings, the bill was met by the state. Upstairs, where he lived, was another meter and Salazar paid that bill out of his own pocket. Under a country that had known years of government corruption, Salazar’s refusal to line his own pockets, or those of his family, was remarkable. He lived modestly throughout his life and when he died he left little to his relatives.

Despite his austere approach, as prime minister Salazar brooked no opposition. Having seen the Portuguese parliament in its most fractious period, Salazar had turned definitively against a democratic form of government. “I am profoundly anti-parliamentarian. I hate the speeches, the verbosity, the flowery, meaningless interpolations, the way we waste passion, not around any great idea, but just around futilities, nothingness from the point of view of the national good.”

Having become prime minister, Salazar set about drafting a new Portuguese constitution with a group of academics, prominent religious figures, businessmen and lawyers. What came to be called the Estado Novo (‘New State’) was a vision of government as a corporatist enterprise where an

Salazar in his most characteristic position: working at his desk


VIVERÁS ETERNAMENTE NO CORAÇÃ
DE MILHÕES DE PORTUGUESES
ELE TINHA RAZÃO:
TODO AQUELE QUE QUERIA TROCAR
PORTUGAL PELO SISTEMA DA RÚSSIA
É TRAIDOR DA NOSSA QUERIDA PÁTR
ANTONIO LO

Salazar's simple grave lies in his home village of Vimieiro, central Portugal

> **"SALAZAR FOUND FASCIST AND NAZI IDEOLOGIES REPUGNANT: IN 1934 HE EXILED THE LEADER OF THE PORTUGUESE FASCISTS"**

assembly of groups would come together for the national interest. Under the new constitution there would be only one political party able to take its place in the national assembly, although the real political power would of course continue to reside with Salazar.

There was also a Corporative Chamber, consisting of members selected by provinces, schools and universities, trade unions and welfare organisations. The Corporative Chamber had a consultative role, while the National Assembly could pass legislation. Under the new constitution the president had the power to sack the prime minister. Salazar never took the office of president himself. However, it is true that on the one occasion it appeared possible that a political opponent might be elected to the highest office in the 1958 elections, the Salazar regime (it is widely believed) stuffed the ballot boxes in order to ensure Humberto Delgado's defeat.

However, those elections lay 25 years in the future when the constitution for the Estado Novo was put to the Portuguese people in a plebiscite on 19 March 1933. It passed overwhelmingly, with only a few thousand people voting against it, although 37 per cent of the electorate abstained.

With António Salazar the effective dictator of Portugal, it seemed to many observers that another European country was following Germany and Italy into fascism. However, while Salazar's regime openly admitted it shared certain characteristics with the other dictator states (and with Franco's Spain once the ruthless generalissimo secured power following the Spanish Civil War), in particular the way in which the press was ruthlessly censored and political opposition banned and clamped down on, yet there were differences between what Salazar was doing in Portugal and what was happening elsewhere in Europe.

Salazar was essentially a conservative Catholic, albeit one with a strong belief in the separation of church and state who found fascist and Nazi ideologies repugnant: in 1934 he exiled the leader of the Portuguese Fascists. While he aided Franco in the Spanish Civil War, this seems to have been in part to position Portugal for its survival should Franco be victorious in the war.

Perhaps Salazar's most signal achievement was the skilful way in which he navigated Portugal through the great dangers of World War II. Portugal and Britain have been allies since the Treaty of Windsor was ratified in 1386, which may be one of the longest alliances in history. Since 1386, Portugal and England, and then Britain, have never warred against each other, nor taken the opposite sides in more general wars.

However, in 1939 and even more so in 1940, with France defeated and Britain standing alone against Nazi Germany, a more opportunistic politician might well have taken the chance to enter the war in order to be on the winning side and grab some of the spoils of victory. However, right from the beginning of the war Salazar was convinced that Britain would not be defeated, that the US would enter the war and that the Axis powers would be beaten. There were many points in 1939, and more so in 1940, when Salazar must have been one of the few people in the world to still hold that view.

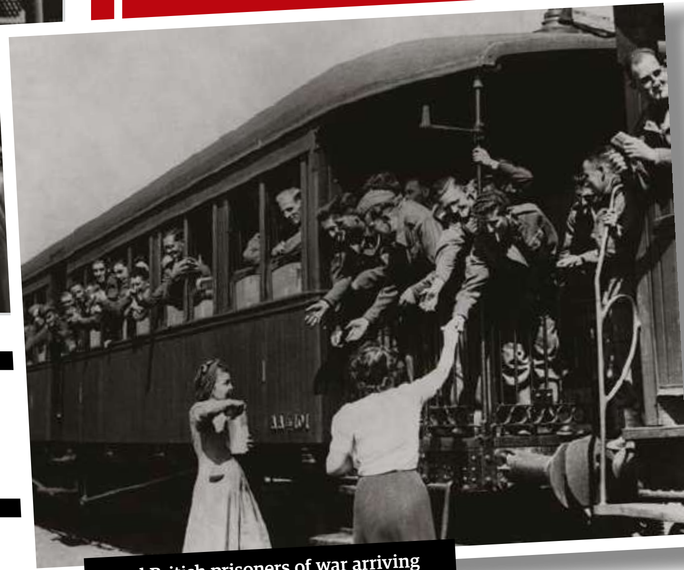
As Britain did not formally ask Portugal for aid in the war Salazar chose to maintain Portuguese neutrality, a policy with which Churchill and the British government completely concurred, as they viewed Portuguese neutrality as vital in helping to persuade Spain to remain neutral. If Spain had chosen to enter the war on the side of the Axis it would have been short order before Gibraltar was captured and, with its capture, the vital sea route through the straits of Gibraltar into the Mediterranean would have been sealed to British ships, ensuring the loss of the North African campaign to Erwin Rommel's Afrika Korps.

Salazar cut a patrician, reserved figure through to the end of his life

LISBON NOT AT WAR

Salazar deftly avoided WWII

During World War II, Lisbon was the only city in the world where both Allied and Axis agents operated openly, keeping a watchful eye on the enemy. It was a city brimming over with refugees seeking passage out of Europe yet forced to remain, stuck in a repeating perambulation around Lisbon's cafés and squares while their paperwork came through. It was Casablanca on the Atlantic and with a cast of characters as vivid and varied as in the film. Ian Fleming, secret service agent and creator of James Bond, got the inspiration for his agent's love of high-stakes gambling from the Estoril Casino, where displaced emigrés staked diamonds and fortunes on the turn of a card. The writers Graham Greene and Malcolm Muggeridge did war time service for the Special Operations Executive on its Lisbon desk, working alongside the traitor Kim Philby, who ran the Iberian desk for SOE. BOAC and Lufthansa planes both flew in and out of Lisbon airport, their planes often parked next to each other overnight. It was a city of intrigue, plotting and tension, all in the service of Salazar's strategic objective of safeguarding Portugal's independence and keeping it out of the war.



Freed British prisoners of war arriving in Lisbon from Italy in 1943 as their first stage in getting back home

> “SALAZAR AUTHORISED THE PORTUGUESE MILITARY TO WAGE WAR AGAINST NATIONALISTS IN ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE”

By 1943 the war in the Atlantic, the U-boat campaign against British merchant shipping, was coming to a head and the British badly needed further bases in the Atlantic. They requested the use of ports and harbours on the Portuguese Azores. Salazar agreed. Portugal also provided a haven for refugees from the war, with somewhere between 100,000 and 1 million people passing through the country.

The fruit of this for Salazar and Portugal was that after the war, despite Portugal's authoritarian regime, it was welcomed into the Marshall Plan and became one of the founders of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO).

Portugal emerged from the horrors of World War II wealthier than it had been before the war. Salazar announced a partial relaxation of his controls on power, but the regime remained staunchly authoritarian, relying on a pervasive secret police (generally known as PIDE) to maintain order, a force that was certainly not above torturing people and getting rid of political opponents. The prison run by PIDE on Cape Verde, a Portuguese possession, was particularly notorious for its harsh regime: 32 people died while in custody there.

Always the autocrat, Salazar fought long and hard for the retention of Portugal's far-flung overseas colonies. However, he was helpless to prevent the loss of Goa to India, and he was forced to accept Chinese terms on the treaty governing Macau. Even so, Salazar was determined to retain Angola and Mozambique.

He authorised the Portuguese military to wage war against nationalist independence movements in both of these African states, orders that were very effectively carried out. However, with other colonial powers such as Britain, France and Belgium divesting themselves of their old empires, Portugal was clearly standing against the inevitable. While Salazar could hold off change in Portugal's overseas empire in the same way as he had stood against societal change at home, neither could last long without him at the helm.

In 1968, Salazar suffered a severe stroke. Although he survived the stroke and eventually regained a measure of lucidity, power had by then passed to Marcelo Caetano. António de Oliveira Salazar died on 27 July 1970. He was buried in his home village. His regime survived him only by four years.

© Getty; Alamy; Wiki

COMMUNISTS

These dictators all claim to be inspired by Karl Marx

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Stalin dyed the Soviet Union red with one of the most brutal and bloody regimes in history

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How a withdrawn underachiever orchestrated one of the worst genocides of the 20th century

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Castro's extraordinary self-confidence allowed him to overcome debacles that would have ruined other leaders

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China's disastrous bid to become the greatest country in the world

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Meet the communist dictator who ruled behind the Iron Curtain, but stood apart from the USSR

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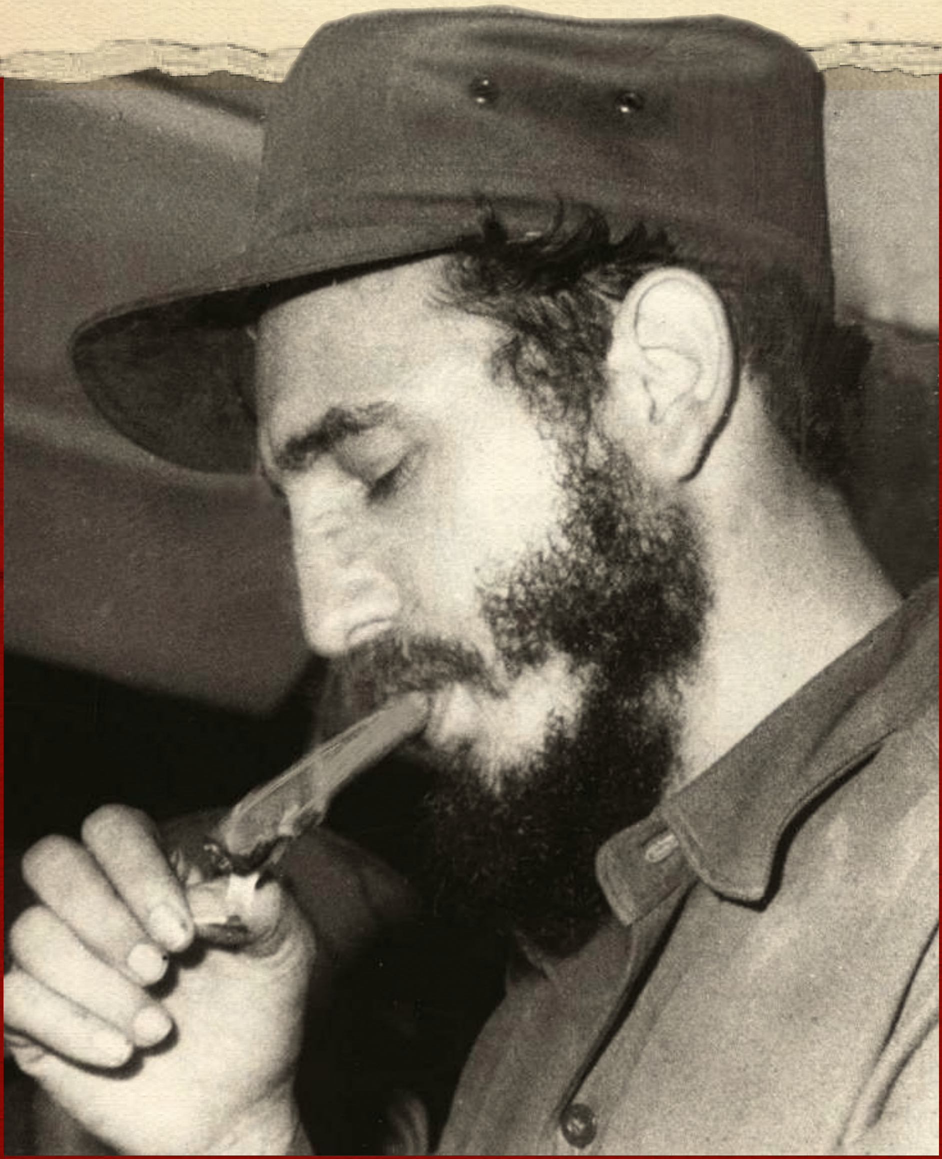
In its 70 years of existence, the reclusive dictatorship of North Korea has had only three leaders – all from the same family



ឈ្មោះ : ប៉ុល ពត
Name: Pol Pot

RUSSIA'S ULTIMATE TYRANT

STALIN

WORDS: **FRANCES WHITE**

Despised by many but idolised by his adoring public, Stalin dyed the Soviet Union red with one of the most brutal and bloody regimes in history

Born the son of a poor cobbler in an illiterate family, Iosif Dzhugashvili seemed an unlikely person to one day become the dictator of the Soviet juggernaut that was the Soviet Union. Young Iosif had been born at a time of massive change. In his lifetime, the Tsars, which had ruled Russia for countless generations, would be thrown off the throne, giving this poor boy from Georgia the chance to claim ultimate power.

Stalin himself played little part in the famous revolution of October 1917, and it wasn't until the Russian Civil War of 1917 to 1921 that his commitment and organisation skills caught Lenin's attention and catapulted him through the ranks. After acquiring a taste of power, Stalin wanted more and so aligned himself with the ailing Soviet leader. As Lenin's imminent death loomed, Stalin, who was now general secretary, used his tenacity and cunning to ensure everything was in place for his rapid rise to power. His opposition were ejected from the party, the Soviet Union and eventually lost their lives. Obsessed with ensuring his rule remained unquestioned, Stalin purged the land of anyone who dared question his authority. Soon all who remained were the few who were fiercely loyal, and the many who were terrified into obedience. Stalin's ruthlessness had won him the ultimate prize - the Soviet Union was his.

RISE TO POWER

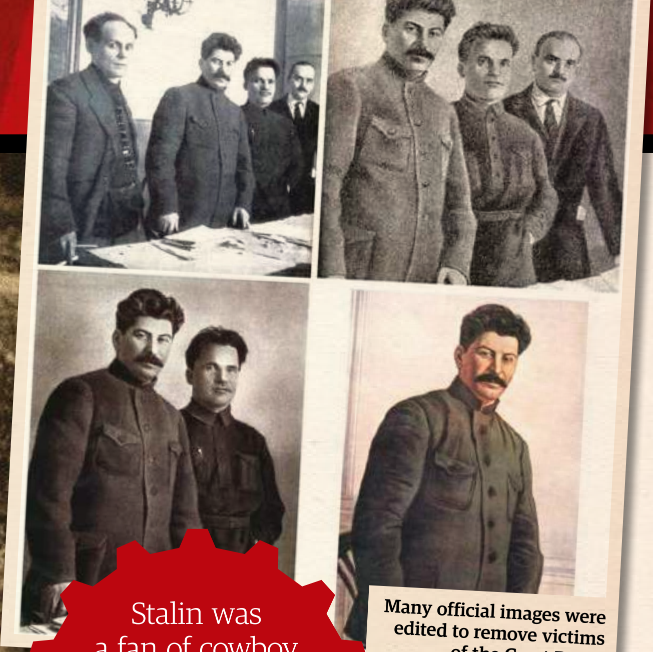
Three key reasons for the rise of the man of steel

1 Links with Lenin
When Lenin went into semi-retirement, Stalin acted as his intermediary with the outside world, with unprecedented access to the ailing leader. Stalin used this to his advantage after his death, elevating Lenin to a godlike figure and he as his loyal disciple.

2 Political alliances
Stalin was able to set up an alliance with key figures in the Communist Party and replace enemies. Because of this Lenin's Testament, a document written by Lenin that called for Stalin's dismissal, was prevented from being revealed.

3 Reign of terror
Stalin was able to isolate and eject any members of the party who did not agree with him. This later turned into a regime of executions and the resulting atmosphere of fear ensured his authority would not be questioned.

Stalin was very insecure about his appearance and fired artists who painted him in an unflattering way



Many official images were edited to remove victims of the Great Purge

THE GREAT PURGE

It is a cold winter's night in 1937. A black van screeches to a halt on a dark and silent street. A small group of men emerge from the car, their sloping rimmed hats silhouetted against the dim light of the flickering streetlamps; their heavy guns swinging at their sides. One casually flicks open a notebook as another lights his pipe and takes a long drag. With a word and gesture to a nearby house the group move as one. The ground crunches under the thick soles of their leather boots as they climb the steps and knock sharply on the door.

They pound their fists against the cracking wood. One flicks open the letterbox and screams harsh words through the small gap and eventually the door opens and a pale face appears. One of the men kicks the door open and the group storm through the house, flinging open doors and destroying anything in their path. A moment later they emerge into the street again, dragging with them a terrified young man who clings to his father. The older man's face is pale but stern, his jaw clenched. His silence is louder than his son's panicked pleas and cries.

The men continue their raid, storming through houses until eventually the entire street is full of men from 17 to 70, some dazed, others hysterical and some with that same strange haunting silence. As the guards point their guns and usher them into the van there is no word of explanation and the few who protest are beaten. As the door closes and the vehicle disappears into the night, those who remain return silently to their homes.

These were not the first victims of the terror that would come to be known as the Great Purge, and they would not be the last. These armed raids in the dead of night were not the work of a secret terrorist organisation, but the government itself, and there was no redemption or tearful reunion awaiting these victims, but only imprisonment, torture, forced confessions and execution.

Obtaining ultimate power was not enough for Stalin. Controlled by his incredible paranoia, suddenly everyone became a suspect in conspiring to overthrow his rule. The purge began when Sergey Kirov, a staunch Stalinist, was murdered in 1934. Stalin used his assassination as evidence that there was a plot against him and launched the operation. But it is thought by some that Stalin himself arranged the death of the well-liked politician whose popularity threatened his rule. This began the string of witch-hunts that went on to claim millions of innocent lives.

The purges first struck former senior Communist Party leaders in the famous Moscow Trials. These trials were covered by the Western media, who saw no problem with the guilty verdicts as the accused admitted to their crime of conspiring to assassinate Stalin. However, behind closed doors confessions were being beaten out of the accused with mental and physical torture, repeated threats against their families and assurances that their lives would be spared if they only pleaded guilty. They were not.

Stalin was a fan of cowboy films and had his own private cinema where he hosted screenings

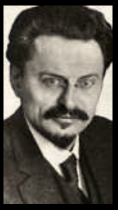
The purge then extended to the army, writers, artists, 'wealthy' farmers and eventually anyone who could be rounded up to make up the numbers of the 'minimum arrests' needed by the NKVD, the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs. Headed by Nikolai Yezhov, the NKVD troika were vicious courts of three people who would issue sentences without a full trial. Through this they could achieve assembly line-style executions of up to a thousand people per day. Eventually the purge extended to the Communist Party itself, as almost all the Bolsheviks who had taken part in the 1917 Revolution were destroyed, until the only original member who remained was Stalin.

From 1937 to 1938 some 1.2 million people met their death as a result of the purge. After his death, 357 lists were found bearing Stalin's own signature, authorising the executions of some 40,000 people. His calculated and cold approach to the millions of lives he destroyed so easily is starkly evident in a line he reportedly muttered while reviewing one such list; "Who's going to remember all this riff-raff in ten or 20 years' time? No one. Who remembers the names now of the boyars Ivan the Terrible got rid of? No one."

MOST WANTED

Three senior officials who found themselves on Stalin's hit list

Leon Trotsky

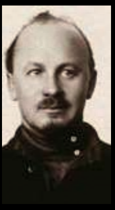


Position: Head of the Fourth International
Crime: Firmly opposed to Stalin as the leader of the Soviet Union
Fate: Assassinated on Stalin's orders on 21 August 1940

Nikolai Yezhov

Position: Head of the NKVD
Crime: Theft of government funds, homosexuality, collaboration with German spies
Fate: Arrested & shot on 4 February 1940

Nikolai Bukharin



Position: General secretary of Comintern's executive committee
Crime: Conspiracy to overthrow the state
Fate: Arrested and executed on 15 March 1938

LENIN V STALIN

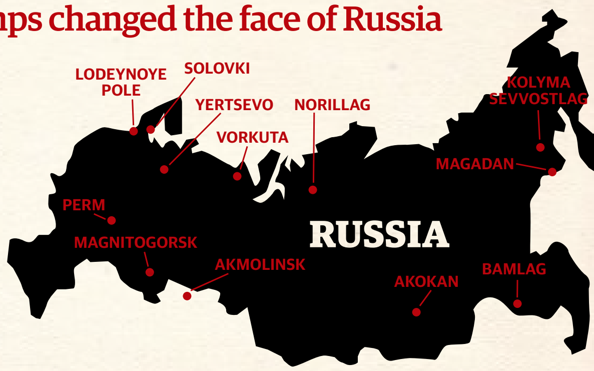
	LENIN	STALIN
COMMUNISM	Lenin's vision was a society run by the people for the people, with all resources shared equally. He wished to completely eradicate the idea of bourgeoisie (a social order ruled by the wealthy) and believed the power of the state would eventually fade away.	He used communism to further his own power and believed Russia would thrive with a powerful leader controlling the masses. He wished to eliminate the bourgeoisie, as well as any resistance of the working class, using state violence to do so.
FOREIGN POLICY	National borders were deemed outdated and Lenin believed the world should engage in a unified revolution. He wished to spread communism across the planet and envisioned a merger of all nations and the creation of a world state.	An advocate of 'socialism in one country', Stalin believed the Soviet Union should focus on building communism in Soviet-controlled countries rather than encouraging a worldwide revolution that would be more difficult to control.
ECONOMY	The New Economic Policy of 1921 allowed private individuals to own their own enterprises. This meant peasants could operate freely, keeping and trading their own produce. The idea of this was to encourage an independent economy.	He wished to rapidly industrialise the economy and brought all agriculture under government control. Peasants were forced to live on group farms and there was seizure of grain hoards, land, machinery and livestock.
THE PEOPLE	Lenin believed that all the oppressed people of the world had the right to self-determination, to rule themselves rather than submit to the will of the state. However, Lenin was also responsible for the Red Terror, where he ordered the executions of a host of his opponents.	There were mass purges of anyone who dared to question Stalin's authority or engage in revolutionary behaviour. Stalin believed that political repression of the people was necessary to defend against the destruction of the Soviet Union.

GULAGS

From the empty frozen plains of Siberia to the towering concrete of central cities, the brutal Gulag camps changed the face of Russia

When the term 'Gulag' was coined, it was used to refer to a government agency in charge of the forced labour camps. But to many today the word Gulag is representative of the entire Soviet system of repression, unwarranted arrests, tortuous interrogations, disregard for human rights and millions of needless deaths.

The Gulag camps existed in a form before Stalin, though they did not bear that name. Known as 'corrective labour camps', the first was installed in 1918, but these early labour camps were very different to the ones Stalin would create. He transformed these camps, where the prisoners enjoyed relative freedom, into a widespread system of over 53 separate merciless camps and 423 labour colonies all across the Soviet Union from the 1930s to '50s. These camps would come to imprison 14 million people and claim the lives of at least 1.6 million of these unfortunates. The vast majority of the camps were in extremely remote, inhospitable regions of northeast Siberia. One of the locations for these camps, Kolyma, struck fear into the hearts of all Gulag prisoners. With a yearlong winter, Kolyma was an unforgiving, barren place, impossible to reach overland. And the camps there, like many other Siberian camps, did not bother with fences or fortification; to seek escape in the vast freezing plains was to sentence oneself to death. The Gulag camps were not like the infamous Nazi concentration camps, which were designed to kill their prisoners, but the horrific conditions often resulted in the same outcome. The Gulags were more numerous, housed more prisoners and lasted for many more years than the brutal Nazi camps.



The prisoners, of whom a great majority had been imprisoned without trial, would face relentless years of hard labour and minimal food. The more work they completed, the larger their ration of thin, tasteless soup, but as they were supplied with primitive, broken and useless tools, achieving the high labour expectations was nearly impossible. With depleting food rations, and sometimes given only four hours' rest a day, the Gulag prisoners were worked to exhaustion and death. In the winter of 1941 alone, a quarter of the Gulags' population died of starvation. To Stalin the Gulags were essential. His purges were so fervent that any prisoner who died in the camps could instantly be replaced and the supply of cheap labour remained uninterrupted.

These prisoners played a key role in enabling Russia to win the Second World War, as they constructed essential railroads, produced ammunition and built tanks and other machines. New camps were created wherever an economic task required cheap labour, such as the Sea-Baltic Canal. The Gulag institution was finally closed in 1960, but many of the practices of these camps, such as forced labour and prisoner intimidation, continue to exist in Russian prisons to this day.

Stalin was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize twice - in 1945 and again in 1948

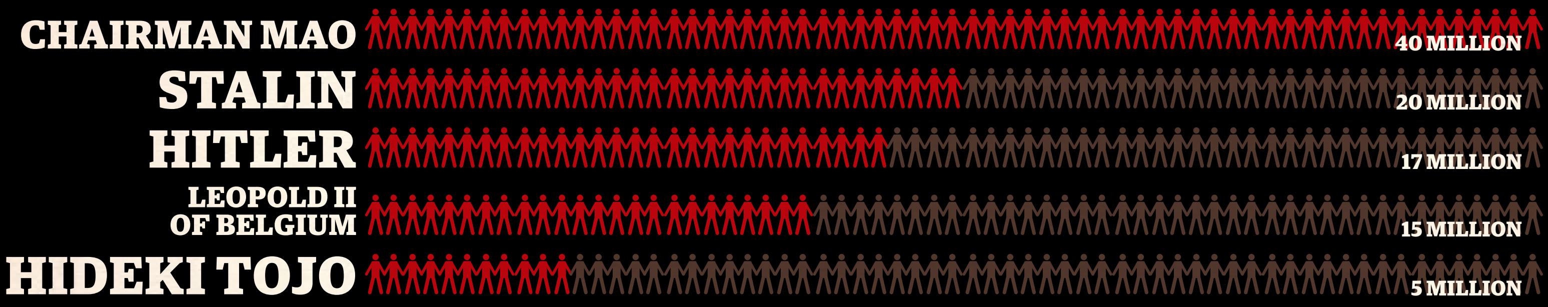
CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

Stalin's Russia wasn't the place to be caught - or even accused of - committing a crime

Late to work three times	The punishment for repeated offences of tardiness was to be sent to the Gulag for three years. There the offenders would face up to 14 hours a day of hard physical labour.
Telling a joke about a government official	You could face a punishment of up to 25 years in a Gulag camp for this crime. Ivan Burylov wrote the word 'Comedy' on his 'secret' ballot paper and was sentenced to eight years.
Petty theft	The sentence for stealing state property, usually food, was ten years of hard labour in a Gulag. This would often be extended without explanation and the convicts forced to live in exile once released.
Conspiracy to prepare uprising	Those accused of political crimes usually became victims of the purge and were executed. Close friends and family members would also be hunted out and disposed of.
Working in Germany	Many citizens of the Baltic States were forced to work in Germany during WWII. They were later arrested for this 'crime' and were sentenced to ten years of forced labour in a Gulag camp.
Practising Christianity	In the late-1920s there was a mass purge of Christian intellectuals and closure of churches. Anyone found practising the religion was arrested, sent to Gulag camps or executed.

THE WORST DICTATOR?

Find out the estimated number of deaths that history's worst dictators are thought to have caused



The cobbler's son
Stalin is born as Iosif Dzhugashvili. He suffers from the smallpox disease, which permanently scars his face, and aged 12 his left arm is injured in an accident, leaving it shorter than the other.
18 December 1878

Stalin in 1894, aged 16

Life in the priesthood
Stalin attends Tiflis Spiritual Seminary after receiving a scholarship. During his training to join the priesthood he discovers the ideas of Marx and Engels and is inspired. He is expelled after missing his final exams. **1894-1899**

Political life begins
Stalin learns that Lenin has formed the Bolsheviks, a political group that follows the teachings of Marx. He signs up and proves himself a skilled and capable organiser. He is arrested and exiled to Siberia but quickly escapes. **1903**

A taste of power
As the Bolsheviks seize power, Stalin rises through the ranks and is appointed the People's Commissar for Nationality Affairs. This position gives him his first taste of real power, and he uses it to burn villages and order executions. **1917**

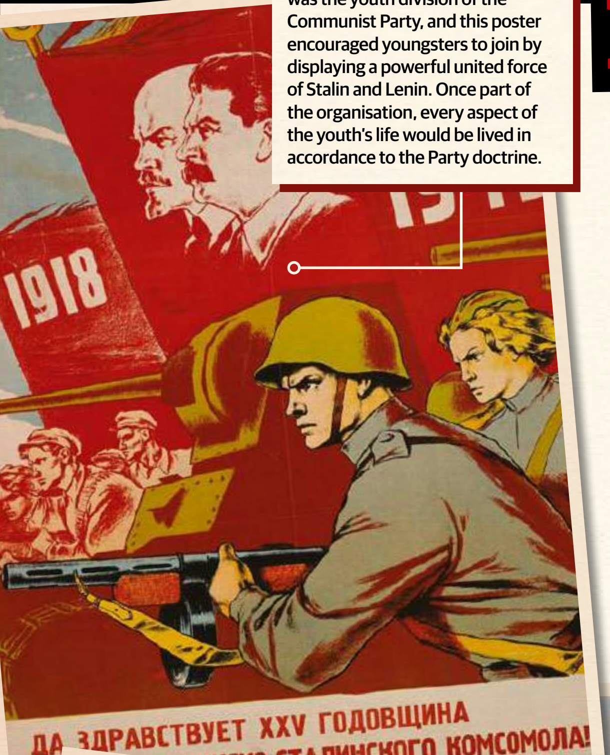
The steady rise
Lenin appoints Stalin as General Secretary. That year Lenin suffers from a stroke and his relationship with Stalin deteriorates. He insists that Stalin be removed from his position, but Stalin's strong link of allies prevents this. **1922**

POWERFUL PROPAGANDA

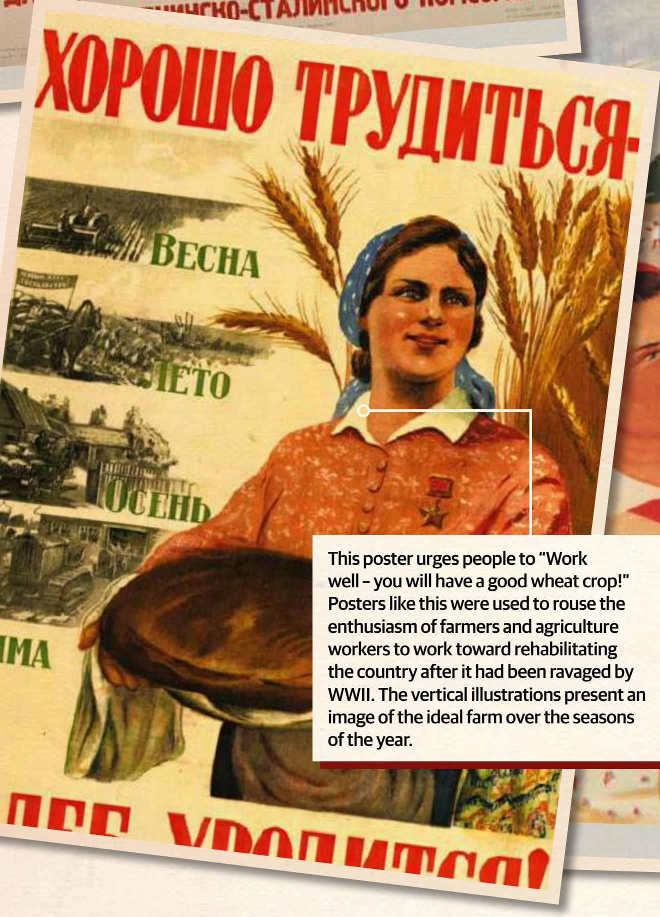
Russia's 'man of steel' was a master at the art of propaganda, depicting and presenting himself as the hero of the nation

When Stalin turned 50 in December of 1929, a lavish celebration presented to the Russian people a messianic figure, the brother in arms of the adored Lenin and his humble disciple. This marked the beginning of the cult of personality surrounding Stalin that would follow him until his death and even beyond. Through the use of propaganda, Russian history was rewritten. Stalin, not Trotsky, had served as Lenin's second in command during the October Revolution and he grew not only spiritually but physically too as his modest 162-centimetre (five-foot, four-inch) frame transformed to over 183 centimetres (six feet) in the towering statues built in his image. Stalin wasn't a cruel or vicious tyrant; he was a loving and strong father figure. The phrase "Thank you, dear comrade Stalin, for a happy childhood!" appeared all over schools and nurseries, with children chanting the slogan over and over again at festivals. The title 'Father' was stolen from the priests he eliminated from his land and associated firmly with Stalin alone. And it was this 'Father Stalin' who the people adored, trusted and venerated, as the real man secretly orchestrated the deaths of millions of their families and friends.

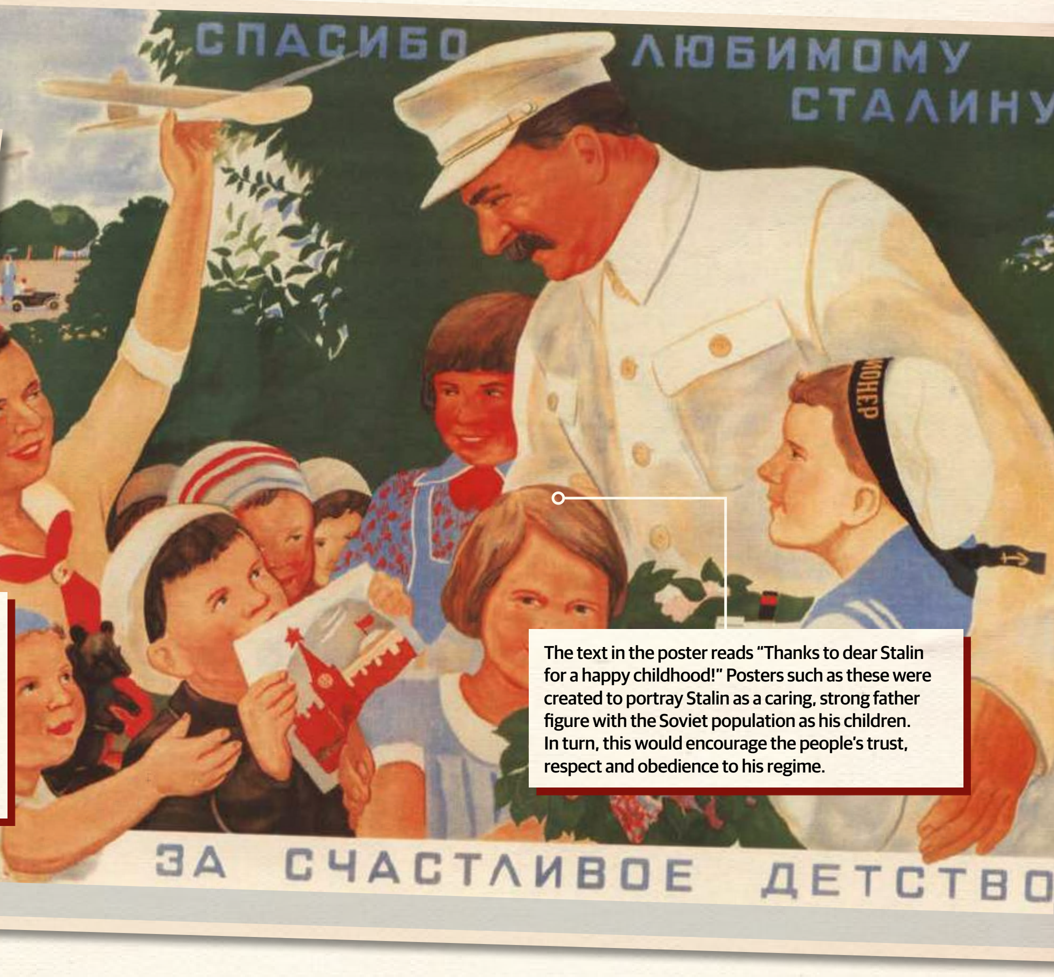
© Alamy



The text reads "Long live the 25th anniversary of the Leninist-Stalinist Komsomol." The Komsomol was the youth division of the Communist Party, and this poster encouraged youngsters to join by displaying a powerful united force of Stalin and Lenin. Once part of the organisation, every aspect of the youth's life would be lived in accordance to the Party doctrine.



This poster urges people to "Work well – you will have a good wheat crop!" Posters like this were used to rouse the enthusiasm of farmers and agriculture workers to work toward rehabilitating the country after it had been ravaged by WWII. The vertical illustrations present an image of the ideal farm over the seasons of the year.



The text in the poster reads "Thanks to dear Stalin for a happy childhood!" Posters such as these were created to portray Stalin as a caring, strong father figure with the Soviet population as his children. In turn, this would encourage the people's trust, respect and obedience to his regime.

The dictator
Lenin dies and a vicious and hurried struggle for power ensues between the leading government figures. Stalin manages to eject his rivals, such as Trotsky, from the Soviet Union, placing himself at the top of the pyramid. **1924-1927**

Five-year plan
Stalin begins the first of his 'five-year plans', with seizure of farms and factories. The result is mass famine, claiming the lives of millions. Export levels are maintained, with food shipped out as people starve. **1928-1933**

The red terror
Stalin begins a campaign of political repression known as the Great Purge. 20 million Russians are sent to Gulag camps and a third of the members of the Communist Party are executed on suspicion of disloyalty. **1934-1940**

Stalin met with Churchill and Roosevelt at the Yalta Conference

War leader
After Adolf Hitler breaks the non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union, Stalin's Red Army joins forces with the Allies in WWII. Victory eventually comes to the Soviet Union, but at the cost of millions of lives. **1941-1945**

Death of a dictator
Stalin suffers from a stroke and isn't found for several hours; his guards fear disturbing him. He remains bedridden for several days before dying on 5 March 1953; rumours that he was poisoned persist through the media. **5 March 1953**

WORLD WAR II

In the carnage of WWII, Stalin aligned his country with the 'decadent' West to defeat Hitler's Nazis

By the late-1930s Stalin had found himself with very few international friends due to his extreme policies. After his attempts to sign an anti-German military alliance with Britain and France failed he was forced to ally with the last country he'd ever imagine - Nazi Germany. The Soviet Union entered into a non-aggression pact on 23 August 1939. This was exactly what Hitler needed to eliminate his fear of a war on two fronts and eight days later Germany invaded Poland and the world was catapulted into war.

Although it was obvious to Stalin that the pact was only there to delay an inevitable conflict between the two powers, when Hitler invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, the Soviet leader was in shock. He had ignored the warnings of Churchill, shot German deserters who had warned him of the coming attack and even supplied Germany with supplies right up until that day. Stalin retreated to his dacha for three days, ignoring telephone calls and refusing to see anyone. He was facing the brutal reality of his own actions - a weakened military of which his own purge had eliminated 40,000 men with a host of key, talented advisors. But when he emerged it was as exactly the leader Russia needed. In the face of war, only the 'man of steel' possessed the strength required to unite his people.

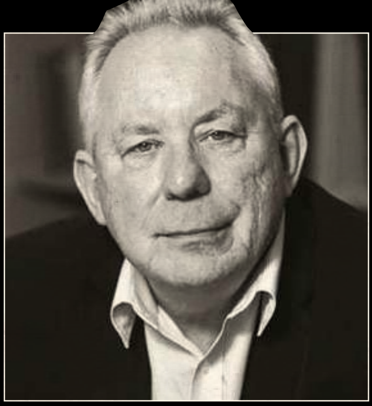
Unite them he did. As Hitler's army drove its way into the Soviet Union, Stalin's forces fought to push them back over four long and bloody years. Offensives such as the Battle of Stalingrad and the Battle of Kursk tested the Soviet leader's resolve as his cities ran red with the blood of millions of soldiers and civilians. The hard-fought victory finally came, but Stalin's gaze was now focused on achieving Soviet dominance over Eastern and Central Europe, and soon a very different, colder war would begin.

A scientist was ordered by Stalin to create a human-ape hybrid known as a humanzee, when he failed he was arrested and exiled

The non-aggression pact was named the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, after the Soviet and Nazi ministers of the same names

EXPERT OPINION

What kind of military leader was Russia's ultimate tyrant?



Geoffrey Roberts
Professor Geoffrey Roberts is Head of the School of History at UCC. His books include *Stalin's Wars: From World War To Cold War, 1939-1953* and *Stalin's General: The Life Of Georgy Zhukov*, which was the winner of the Society for Military History Distinguished Book Award for Biography.

How involved a war leader was Stalin?
Stalin was involved in every aspect of the Soviet war effort - military, political, economic and diplomatic. He worked 16 hours a day and signed thousands of decrees and orders. Everyone who had dealings with him during the war was amazed by his knowledge of the technical details of the modern war machine. As Supreme Commander he was centrally involved in devising military strategy and directing large-scale operations. He was the indispensable figure of the Soviet high command.

Was Stalin a tactically astute leader?
Politically and diplomatically Stalin was highly astute. That is apparent from the close personal connections he forged with Churchill and Roosevelt during the war and the influence he exercised within the Allied grand alliance. [Regarding the military] Stalin was stronger on strategy than tactics and he made some bad mistakes during the first few months of the war. But he learnt from his mistakes and to take more notice of professional military advice.

Stalin's finest hour was in November 1941 when he decided to stay in Moscow when the Germans were at the gates of the Soviet capital. Stalin's presence in Moscow and some inspiring patriotic speeches he gave helped to steady Soviet nerves and defences, and bought time for the preparation of a massive counter-offensive in December 1941 that drove the Germans away from the city.

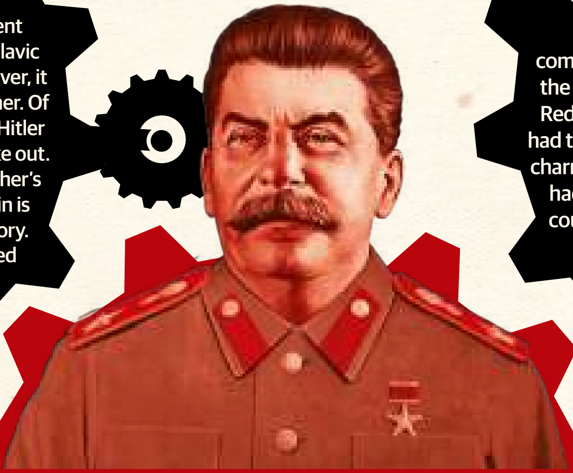
There are many great victories to choose from but the Battle of Stalingrad stands out. Summer 1942 was another moment of crisis for the Soviet Union when a German thrust south threatened the security of Soviet oil supplies. Stalingrad, which barred the way to the German advance, almost fell to them, but the Red Army staged a heroic defence and managed to hang on to a bridgehead in the city. Once again, Stalin and his generals held their nerve and carefully prepared a counter-stroke that encircled the Germans in Stalingrad and forced them to surrender. Stalingrad was a defeat from which the Germans never really recovered.

What was his greatest failure?
It is often said that Stalin's greatest failure was that he did not anticipate the German invasion of Russia in June 1941. I think the failure was more one of strategic imagination and preparation. Stalin and his generals underestimated the power of the German attack and overestimated the strength of Soviet defences and their capacity to counter-attack. Stalin knew the Germans were going to attack, if not precisely when, but he was confident he and the Red Army could deal with all contingencies, including a surprise attack. In a sense he was right - the Soviet Union was able to survive the German invasion, but the cost was enormous and almost catastrophic. By the end of 1941 the Germans had reached Moscow, surrounded Leningrad and penetrated deep into the southern USSR. Perhaps the most grievous loss was Kiev, the Ukrainian capital, which fell to the Germans in September 1941. Stalin personally refused to allow the withdrawal of the Red Army from the Kiev area, with the result that several hundred thousand troops were encircled and captured by their German enemies.

Do you think the massive casualties of the Soviet army affected Stalin?
Stalin was a person of great feeling but little human empathy. He could be a very emotional person, subject to violent mood swings, and often displayed great sentimentality as well as anger. He was also an ideologue and an intellectual who thought in terms of grand designs and abstractions and spent much of his life engrossed in the written word and in political contexts that were sheltered from the brutal realities of war. These latter qualities helped inoculate Stalin from the sufferings of his troops. Stalin was utopian and an idealist who believed that the ends justified the means, and he had the emotional make-up that enabled taking and living with numerous extremely harsh decisions.

How much did Stalin's leadership contribute to the ultimate victory?
I have made myself unpopular with people who see only evil in Stalin by arguing that the Soviet dictator was the one essential Allied leader during the Second World War. Without his leadership the Soviet Union would in all probability have lost the war with Nazi Germany. The Soviet system that confronted Hitler's regime was Stalin's system, the system he had created in the 1920s and '30s. If Stalin hadn't performed well during the war the system would have collapsed in the face of the devastating blows it received. There was no substitute Soviet leader.

How would you sum up Stalin's leadership style during WWII?
Energetic, authoritative, calculating, controlled and ruthless. He made a lot of mistakes but was more right than wrong after the first few disastrous months of the war. He was a learning war leader. In relation to his generals, he reinvented himself as a team player, as a combination of chairman and managing director. He imposed a harsh disciplinary regime on the Red Army and the whole country and had no compunction in destroying those he saw as his enemies. Stalin was a great warlord, but he was also a ruthless and brutal one. He did great harm to millions of innocent people as well as serving humanity well in defeating Hitler and the Nazis. It is that combination of good and evil that makes Stalin the most paradoxical as well as the most important dictator of the 20th century.



STALIN'S DIPLOMACY

How the Soviet leader tried to control and manage the only men who could rival him for power

Adolf Hitler

The Father and the Führer

As a fascist and a communist, Hitler and Stalin couldn't be further apart politically. Hitler's frequent condemnation of the Soviet Union and claims that Slavic people were inferior did little to help relations. However, it became in both of their interests to ally with each other. Of course, this façade of friendship did not last long, as Hitler invaded Soviet territory and the anticipated war broke out. The two dictators shared a certain respect for the other's power though, and Hitler is quoted as saying, "Stalin is one of the most extraordinary figures in world history. He began as a small clerk and he has never stopped being a clerk. Stalin owes nothing to rhetoric. He governs from his office, thanks to a bureaucracy that obeys his every nod and gesture."

Winston Churchill

Putting up the Iron Curtain

The relationship between these two great leaders started off on rocky ground – Churchill's hatred of communism was well known, and Stalin was suspicious of the Western powers who he believed had abandoned his Red Army. But in order to beat the German invasion, they had to assume a united front. Churchill was satisfied that his charm and personality had won the dictator over, but Stalin had secretly installed a network of spies in London and could plan his own perfect 'performance' when dealing with the British leader. Although photos and film footage show the two men seemingly free of past misgivings, in reality Stalin would always be the one nut Churchill was unable to crack.

Franklin D Roosevelt

Looking after Uncle Joe

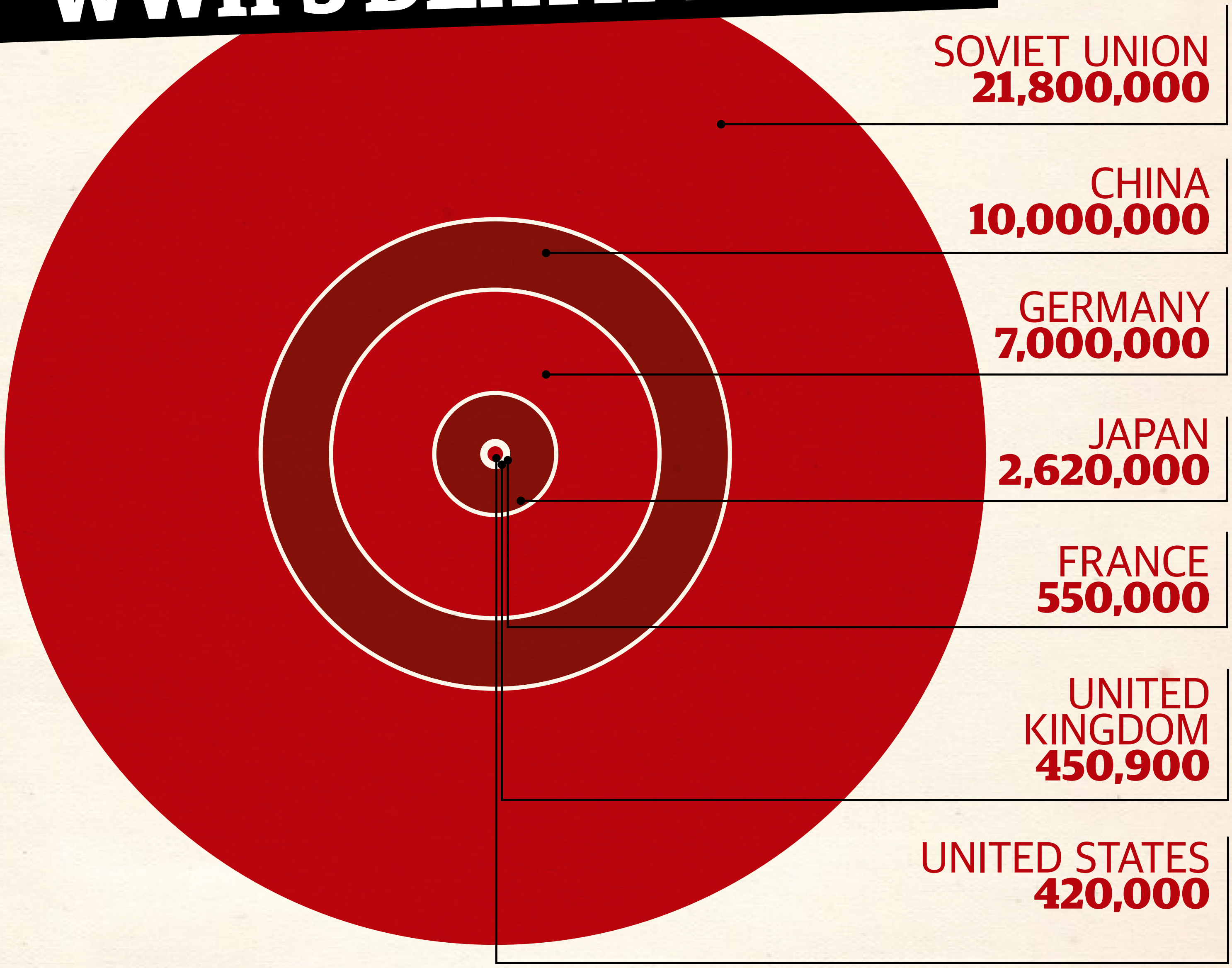
Roosevelt possessed a close relationship with Churchill and this was something he believed could be extended to Stalin, despite warnings from Churchill not to trust the Soviet leader. Roosevelt repeatedly sided with Stalin in order to encourage this relationship, which he believed would prevent Soviet expansion after the war. Instead of standing up to Stalin, something his advisors pushed for, Roosevelt gave him whatever he wanted and referred to him affectionately as 'Uncle Joe.' This naivety was pounced on and exploited by the Soviet dictator, and the results in the coming years proved Roosevelt's approach to be disastrous to the Soviet-American partnership he desired.

Benito Mussolini

The two tyrants

Despite believing in very different political systems, communism and fascism, Stalin and Mussolini had a lot in common. They both tried to establish governments with complete control over their citizens, they used propaganda to do so and they transformed their countries. Mussolini had some admiration toward Stalin, mainly due to his respect for Lenin, but when he allied with Hitler he eliminated any chance of the two men forming a friendship. The Russian dictator considered the Italian leader to be weak and little more than a puppet for Hitler to use as he saw fit. Stalin dismissed Mussolini, paying him and his actions very little attention.

A HEAVY PRICE: WWII'S DEATH TOLL



5 FACTS ABOUT STALINGRAD

1 110,000 German soldiers were taken prisoner at Stalingrad; by the end of the war only 5,000 of them returned to Germany.

2 Hitler ordered the Sixth Army commander Paulus to fight to the last bullet, who commented, "I've no intention of shooting myself for this Bohemian corporal."

3 One of the deliveries dropped to the German soldiers amid the biting Russian winter was 20 tons of vodka and summer uniforms.

4 The living conditions of the soldiers were so terrible that a Red Army conscript assigned to Stalingrad had a life expectancy of just 24 hours.

5 A national day of mourning was ordered by Hitler, not for the loss of men but for the shame the surrender brought to Germany.

GREAT RULER OR TYRANT?

LOVING FATHER

Stalin adored and doted on his only daughter Svetlana, calling her his "little sparrow." Possessing the red hair and freckles of his own beloved mother, Svetlana described the pride on her father's face as he watched her drive a car: "He sat next to me, beaming with joy. My father couldn't believe I knew how to drive." Even when she sought asylum in the USA she refused to condemn her father, proclaiming the love and respect she felt for him.

Stalin's treatment of his first son, Yakov, was so severe that he attempted to take his own life. He survived, but Stalin simply responded by saying, "He can't even shoot straight." Yakov went on to serve in the Red Army but was captured in WWII. His safe return was promised to his father in exchange for German Field Marshal Friedrich Paulus. Stalin rejected this offer. It is believed that Yakov subsequently committed suicide by running into an electric fence at a concentration camp.

MODERNISATION

During his years as dictator Stalin led the Soviet Union out of its previously backward economy and moved it forward with mass industrialisation. Stalin's five-year plans achieved rapid modernisation despite a very weak economy. New products were developed, the scale and efficiency of production increased and ultimately this mass industrialisation helped greatly in achieving a Soviet victory in WWII.

Although the economic growth under Stalin was significant, figures of the rate of growth are greatly disputed – ranging from the official estimate of 13.9 per cent to the low Western figure of 2.9 per cent. One thing is certain, though; the cost of this modernisation was millions of innocent lives. Stalin's brutal regime caused mass famine across the rural population, with a final death toll of up to 10 million people.

DEATH

When Stalin died, the collective grief that swept through his people was tangible. People wept openly and on his funeral mass wakes were held across the country. To many Stalin was their country's greatest leader, winning WWII and purging the land of those who would plunge Russia back into the rule of the Tsars. When his body was placed in the Hall of Columns, people lined to pay their respects for three days and nights.

In the early hours of 2 March 1953 Stalin suffered a stroke. Despite being the most powerful man in Russia, he lay helpless, alone and soaked in his own stale urine until 10pm that night. Ironically, it was the reign of terror that he himself had constructed that put the final nail in his own coffin, as his guards were scared that entering his room and disobeying his orders would result in their death.

SOCIAL FREEDOM

Women's lives improved significantly under Stalin's rule. They enjoyed equal rights in education and employment, allowing them to succeed in careers previously closed to them. The generation born during Stalin's rule was the first almost universally literate generation in Russian history. Universal healthcare also increased the average life span and sent the numbers of diseases like typhus and cholera to a record low.

Many basic human rights were removed under Stalin and he conducted a removal of all religion through the use of atheistic education, anti-religious propaganda and discriminatory laws. Churches, mosques, temples and sacred monuments were destroyed. Anyone who showed association with religion ran the risk of being killed, along with the tens of thousands of priests, monks and nuns who were martyred under his orders.

POL POT'S KHMER ROUGE

WRITTEN BY: **FRANCES WHITE**

How a quiet, withdrawn, underachiever became responsible for one of the most devastating genocides of the 20th century

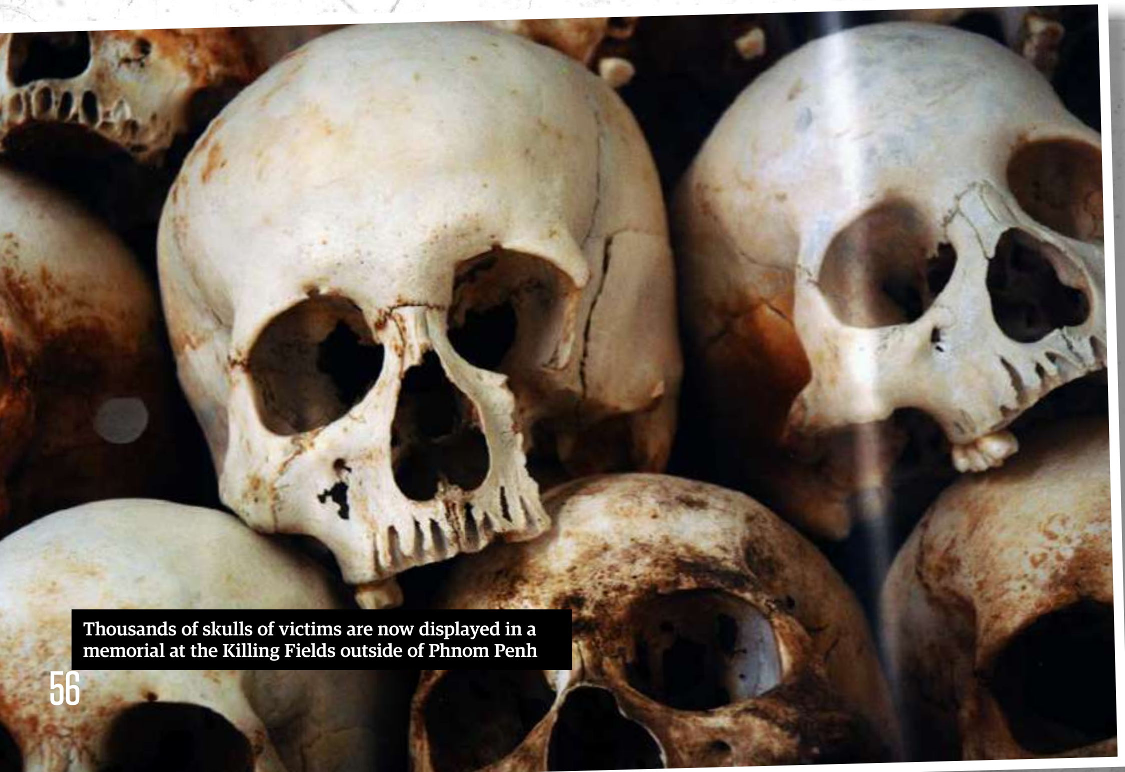
A quiet man. A reclusive man. A man who hid behind a thousand different names – Pouk, Hay, Pol, 87, Grand-Uncle, Elder Brother, First Brother, 99, Phem. To this day Pol Pot remains something of an enigma. In a world of dictators with larger-than-life personalities, Pol Pot lingers in the shadow. However, as difficult as the man himself may be to pin down, his actions speak loudly. They speak of cruelty, of stubbornness, of hatred and of death.

Pol Pot was born as Saloth Sar on 19 May 1925 in the small village of Prek Sbauv, approximately 100 miles north of the Cambodian capital of Phnom Penh. His family was reasonably wealthy, with his father owning 50 acres of rice paddy. This was ten times the national average, and their house was the largest in the village, employing several poorer neighbours to work for them. Pol Pot's mother was a pious Buddhist and he was the eighth of nine children, three of which died young. When Pol Pot was only six years old, he moved to Phnom Penh to live with relatives. While there he spent a year as a novice monk in a Buddhist monastery. After this he then attended a French Catholic primary school. He was not a naturally gifted student and was held back several years. However, Pol Pot frequently rubbed shoulders with the elite during his years in education, as his cousin Meak was a consort of the king.

Thanks to his privileged position and his own determination and perseverance, Pol Pot secured a scholarship to study radio technology abroad in France. While there he became an active member of many communist groups, however he confessed to finding Karl Marx's texts difficult, and instead focused on the writings of Joseph Stalin and Chairman Mao. He became wrapped up in his revolutionary activities and neglected his studies, causing him to fail his exams and return to Cambodia in 1953.

When Pol Pot returned, the country was going through a period of dramatic change. Cambodia was revolting against French colonial rule; by the end of the year the region had gained its independence. It created the perfect climate for an ambitious young man to rise to the top and grasp control. Pol Pot joined the Khmer People's Revolutionary Party (KPRP) an early communist group formed in 1951. However, this was still an underground, covert movement as communist activities were being weeded out by the authorities. Police began to suspect Pol Pot's communist leanings and he and other party leaders escaped with a group of Viet Cong deep into the Northern Cambodian countryside. During this time, he adopted the revolutionary pseudonym he would make history as – Pol Pot.

The failed student began to rapidly rise through the ranks to emerge as the Cambodian party chief, and he was determined to lead a revolution. Pol Pot and his guerrilla army, known as the Khmer Rouge, began their uprising in 1968. It was not a sudden and powerful uprising, but Pol Pot was able to set up guerilla bases in remote, less populated areas of the country and slowly gain more control. In 1970 the hereditary leader, Prince Sihanouk, was overthrown in a military coup led by General Lon Nol when he was out of the country. In the civil war that followed, the prince allied himself with Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge and Lon Nol received the support of the USA. It was a brutal and bloody war, with the government employing scorched earth tactics, aerially bombing suspected rebel areas. Government soldiers would reportedly be rewarded for each severed head they produced, prompting many to target civilians and even children. This brutality actually helped the rebels cause, with many villagers rushing to join them. The USA ordered a huge bombing campaign



Thousands of skulls of victims are now displayed in a memorial at the Killing Fields outside of Phnom Penh

ឈ្មោះ : ប៉ុល ពត
Name: Pol Pot

Pol Pot was influenced by the self-sufficient hill tribes he encountered in the north-east

THE RULES OF CONCENTRATION CAMP S-21

1 You **must** answer accordingly to my question. **Don't turn them away.**

2 Don't try to hide the facts by making pretexts this and that, **you are strictly prohibited to contest me.**

3 Don't be a fool for you are a chap who dare to thwart the revolution.

4 You must immediately answer my questions without wasting time to reflect.

5 Don't tell me either about your immoralities or the essence of the revolution.

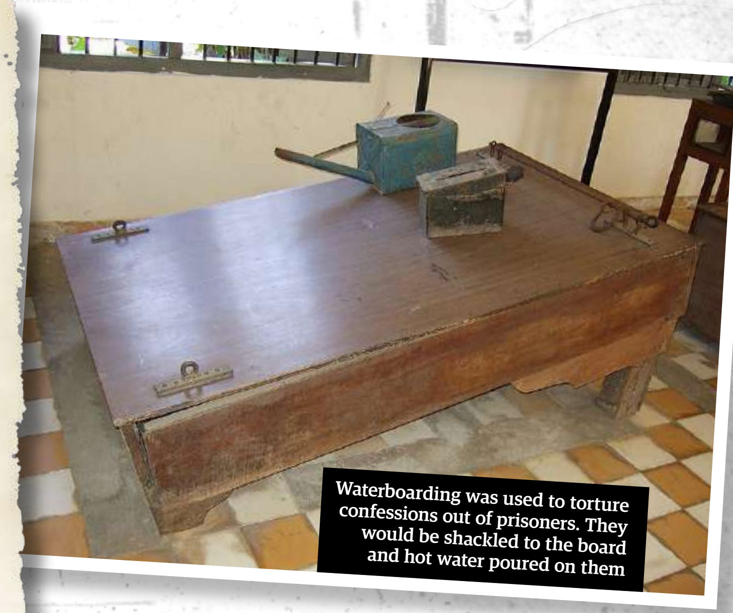
6 While getting lashes or electrification you must not cry at all.

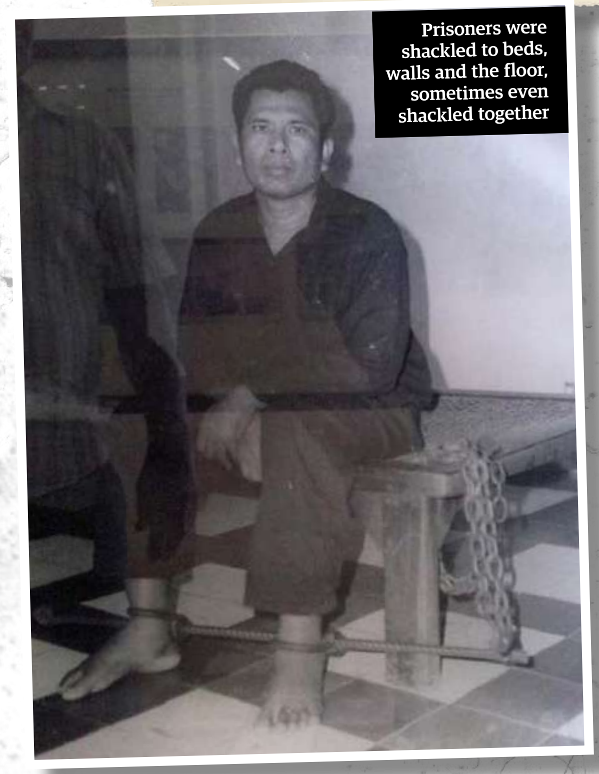
7 Do nothing, sit still and wait for my orders. If there is no order, keep quiet. When I ask you to do something, you must do it right away without protesting.

8 Don't make pretext about Kampuchea Krom in order to hide your secret or traitor.

9 If you don't follow all the above rules, you shall get many lashes of electric wire.

10 **If you disobey any point of my regulations you shall get either ten lashes or five shocks of electric discharge.**


Waterboarding was used to torture confessions out of prisoners. They would be shackled to the board and hot water poured on them


Prisoners were shackled to beds, walls and the floor, sometimes even shackled together

of the region, dropping over 500,000 bombs on Cambodia, three times more than dropped on Japan in World War Two. However, it didn't work. By the end of the bombing the Khmer Rouge controlled three quarters of Cambodia's territory.

In late 1973 Pol Pot turned his gaze towards the capital. He decided to put the city under siege, preventing any outside sources of supplies from entering. Anyone who rose up against the Khmer Rouge was tortured and any revolts were quickly silenced. Pol Pot also ordered mass evacuations of urban areas to the countryside on an epic crusade against capitalism. He put together a 'death list' of enemies to be purged after he had seized control, which was read out at a press event, and featured all senior government leaders. The government, sensing the end was near, formed a new Supreme National Council with the aim of surrendering. Pol Pot reacted to this by adding the names of all the members to his death list. On 17 April 1975, the government collapsed0 and Pol Pot took power. The worst was yet to come.

Pol Pot dubbed himself 'Brother number one' as de facto leader of the country. Cambodia's name was changed to Democratic Kampuchea. The prince was initially supportive, returning to the country as a figurehead, but within a year the relationship soured and he was placed under house arrest. The new regime prioritised agriculture as the means to building a strong nation and a self-sufficient state, separated from any foreign influence. Pol Pot reset the calendar to 'Year Zero' and immediately called for the evacuation of the capital. Citizens were scared into leaving, after being told that the USA were going to bomb the cities. The scale of this mass evacuation was unlike anything conducted so far and was dubbed a 'death march' by Western media.

The population were reclassified as three groups - full-rights, candidates and depositees (named because the group mainly comprised of those 'deposited' in the countryside from the cities.) The educated depositees, including civil servants, doctors and teachers were forced to work in the fields as part of their re-education process. These depositees were marked for destruction, with their rations reduced to two bowls of rice a day. These measly rations caused widespread starvation. They were also given no right to vote in elections, despite the fact that universal suffrage had been established in the new constitution. These people were seen as disposable, and the government did little to deny this, with their proverb blasted over the state-controlled radio: "To keep you is no benefit, to destroy you is no loss."

Pol Pot decided he only need a couple of million people to build his new world. Those who complained about their work or hoarded rations were tortured. Hundreds of thousands who were deemed unnecessary were ordered to dig their own graves before they were buried alive. Bullets, apparently, were too valuable to be wasted. These graves are known today as 'the Killing Fields'.

Religion was banned by Pol Pot's government, and state atheism enforced. Over 25,000 Buddhist monks were massacred by the Khmer Rouge, while all minority groups were forbidden to speak their native tongue or practice their customs. The groups targeted included, but was not limited to,

The subject of *The Killing Fields* film, Dith Pran, is reunited with his family

Christians, Muslims, anyone who was educated, disabled people, Chinese and Vietnamese. Many of these groups were executed, or imprisoned and tortured in detention centres, such as the infamous S-21, of which there were only 12 known survivors.

Children were raised on a communal basis and all property collectivised. Money, almost all books, jewelry and religion were outlawed. Everyone was expected to follow strict rules regarding sexual relations, vocabulary and even clothing. Children were taken from their parents, who lost all rights over them, and forced into the military. Rice fields were even realigned to recreate the checkerboard design from the coat of arms on the flag. While the former affluent capital Phnom Penh turned into an abandoned ghost city, people in the countryside were slowly dying of starvation, or were taken away and never seen again. Any word against the government was a death sentence and because of the mass killings it is difficult, nigh on impossible, to estimate just how many people died as a result of the regime. Estimates have placed the death toll from 740,000 and 3 million, with approximately half of those deaths being a direct result of execution.

> “EVERYONE WAS EXPECTED TO FOLLOW STRICT RULES REGARDING SEXUAL RELATIONS, VOCABULARY AND EVEN CLOTHING”

In December 1976 Pol Pot declared to his executives that Vietnam was an enemy. There had been hints of this before, in his allegiance with the People's Republic of China and adopting an anti-Soviet line, as Vietnam was aligned with the Soviet Union. By 1977 relations between the two nations - Vietnam and Cambodia - worsened. Pol Pot knew this was not a war he wished to fight, so even sent a team in to negotiate. When that didn't work, he instead sent an army. It is quite possible he did this only to intimidate Vietnam into leaving Cambodia alone, but it actually had the opposite effect - spurring the Vietnamese to take action against Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge.

In 1976 Vietnam began launching air raids against Cambodia, and war between the two nations became inevitable. Cambodia boasted it would reclaim territory stolen from it in Vietnam. The raids conducted over the border caused widespread death and destruction in the villages. Cambodian socialists, sensing the changing of tides, rebelled in the Eastern Zone. Pol Pot responded by putting out a public call to "exterminate the 50 million Vietnamese" and "purify the masses" of Cambodia. 100,000 Easterners were slaughtered, suspecting of being sympathetic to the Vietnamese.

The Vietnamese had had enough. The threats against its people prompted Vietnam to attack Cambodia with the intent of overthrowing Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge. Vietnam sent more than 60,000 troops backed up by air and artillery units across the border. On 7 January 1979 they captured the capital of Phnom Penh and Pol Pot fled into the jungle. Vietnam replaced him with a new government comprised of Khmer Rouge members who had escaped to Vietnam during the purges.

Pol Pot didn't count himself down and out. He quickly met up with his remaining supporters on

THE KILLING FIELDS

As with most genocides throughout history, there are those who have tried to deny the Cambodian Genocide ever happened, with some prominent figures stating that artifacts were faked. This denial is now prohibited by Cambodian law. However, it is very difficult to comprehend this denial when faced with the evidence unearthed in Cambodia, most notably the Killing Fields.

These grave sites are the places where more than a million Cambodians were killed and buried. Spread across the country, these sites have helped to give historians an idea of just how many people were executed during the genocide, though the number is still impossible to know for certain, with UNICEF estimating 3 million and other experts estimating 1.4 million.

The term 'Killing Fields' was coined by Cambodian journalist Dith Pran after he escaped the regime. It is a fitting name. Those who were accused of crimes would receive warnings from the government. If they received more than two warnings they would be sent for "re-education", which meant almost-certain death. People were encouraged to confess their pre-revolutionary lifestyles and crimes, including simply talking to foreigners. They were told they would be forgiven, but instead they were taken away for torture and execution. Those to be executed would be buried in the infamous mass graves, some were burned, buried alive, or killed via poison, spades or even sharpened bamboo sticks. Children were also murdered to prevent them taking revenge on the regime when they grew up. Those carrying out the executions were usually from poor peasant families. Today a memorial park has been built around the mass graves of the victims. Many of these graves have not yet been excavated and after heavy rainfall clothing, bones and even teeth are known to surface.

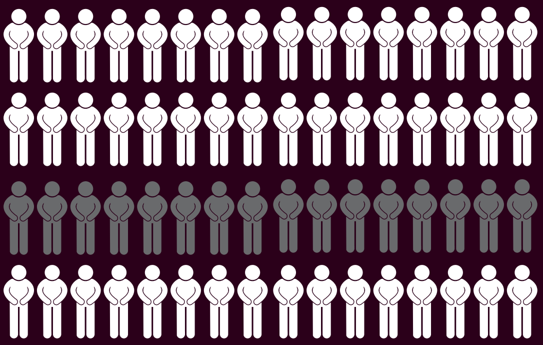
This map was made out of the skulls of Cambodian Genocide victims, and is displayed at the Tuol Sleng Museum

The Impact of the Khmer Rouge

The Khmer Rouge ruled Cambodia for **four years**

3 tons of rice per hectare expected to be produced

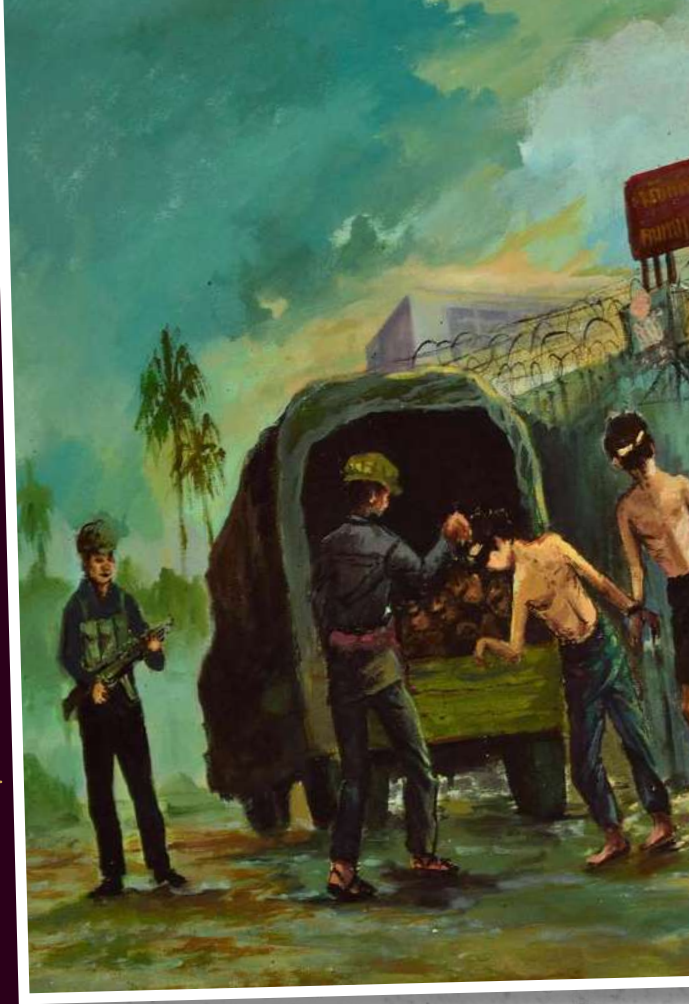
25% of the population KILLED



14,000 prisoners held at S-21

20,000+ mass grave sites found

Three Khmer Rouge senior leaders convicted for crimes against humanity

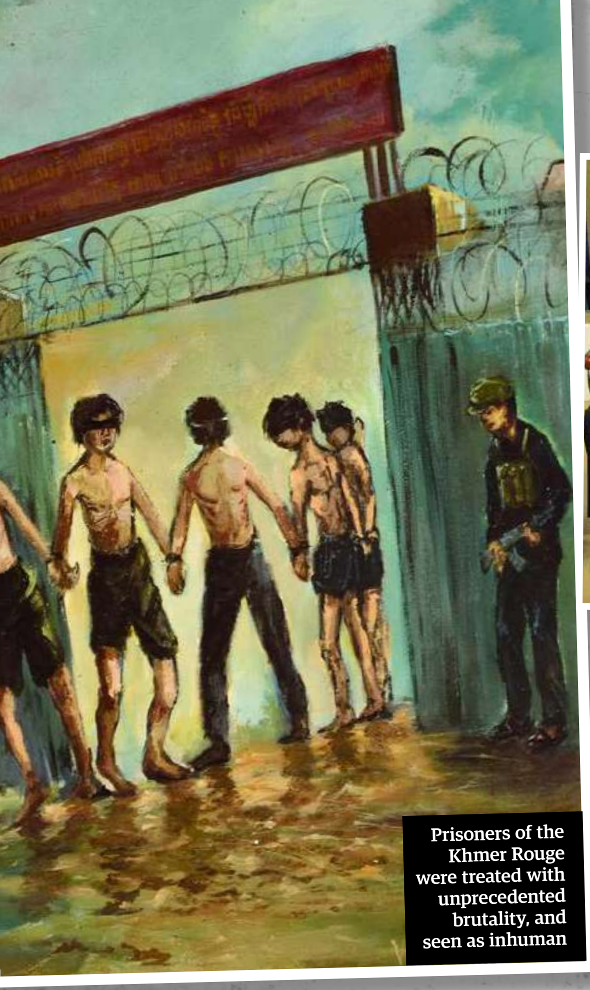


the Thai border. Over time he managed to build up a new military force with the backing of The People's Republic of China. He continued his guerrilla operations, declaring all who rose against him as traitors and puppets of the Vietnamese. The Vietnamese were not pleased, and in December 1985 they launched an offensive against the Khmer Rouge, completely destroying the organisation's headquarters and base. Pol Pot fled to Thailand and officially resigned as party leader in 1985, stating asthma as his reason why. Despite this, he still served as the de-facto leader, but delegated his power to his successor, Son Sen. In 1986 he moved to China for treatment for cancer.

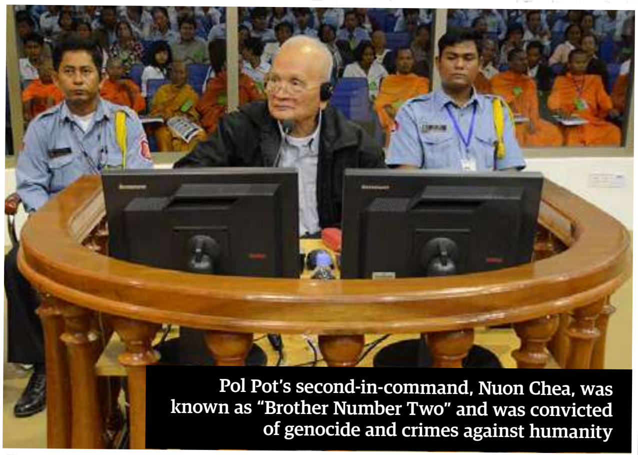
In 1989 Vietnam withdrew from Cambodia. Despite announcing his retirement, Pol Pot quickly leapt on this opportunity. He relocated back to Cambodia and fought against the new coalition government. However, by 1996 the Khmer Rouge were beginning to lose support, with several key leaders defecting from the party. The government were determined to make peace with the

Please don't walk through the mass grave!

The mass graves are believed to contain approximately 1.5 million victims



Prisoners of the Khmer Rouge were treated with unprecedented brutality, and seen as inhuman



Pol Pot's second-in-command, Nuon Chea, was known as "Brother Number Two" and was convicted of genocide and crimes against humanity

"THE GOVERNMENT WERE DETERMINED TO MAKE PEACE WITH THE REMAINING KHMER ROUGE INDIVIDUALS"

remaining Khmer Rouge individuals, but Pol Pot, despite suffering a stroke that paralysed the left side of his body, was not willing to bend. He even ordered the execution of his life-long right-hand man, Son Sen, after he had attempted to reach an agreement with the government. Not only was Son Sen killed, but also 11 members of his family. Pol Pot denied any involvement in this.

The former leader tried to flee his Northern stronghold but was arrested on 19 June 1997 by the Khmer Rouge military chief. He was subjected to a show trial for his role in the death of Son Sen, and sentenced to house arrest for the remainder of his life. On 15 April 1998 it was announced that Pol Pot suffered heart failure while in bed and had passed away. The body was quickly cremated, despite government requests to inspect it. This led to suspicions that Pol Pot had taken an overdose to kill himself. It was believed he did so to prevent himself being handed over to the United States, which had been the original plan. Though the official line is that he died in his sleep, the suspicions of suicide still remain.

Unusually among communist dictators, while in power Pol Pot never became the figure of worship or a personality cult. He preferred to work largely in secret, much as he did during his years on the battlefield. In fact, it took two years of being in power for the party to reveal the existence of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, referring to itself only as Angkar or 'the organisation' up until that point. With this in mind, it does appear that Pol Pot carried out his actions due to genuine belief in their worth, rather than wishing to turn himself into a legend or God-like figure. However, biographer Philip Short wrote that he "delighted in appearing to be what he was not – a nameless face in the crowd" so this unusual factor may have actually been all part of his plan. His frequent use of pseudonyms hints at this, and he apparently once told a secretary: "The more often you change your name the better. It confuses the enemy." To this degree Pol Pot seems to have been not only reclusive, but also cunning. He was reported to be very charismatic, with a distinctive smile and was regarded by his students as having a good nature. But Pol Pot had the benefits of a varied upbringing, giving him the ability of being able to communicate with people on all levels, and endearing himself quickly to them. He was a man that people naturally liked; he did not come across as ambitious and power-hungry despite being so. It is easy to see why many thought him a suitable person for leadership.

When asked about the mass killings that occurred under his rule, Pol Pot nearly broke down and cried, claiming that he must take responsibility as he didn't keep track of what was going on. He compared himself to a master in a house who was not aware the children were misbehaving, and that this was due to his trusting nature. He claimed the resulting 'mess' was the fault of these people he trusted to run aspects of the country, and that they would lie to him, telling him all was fine when it was not. Lastly, he blamed the cadres formed by the Vietnamese. In this statement he put across the illusion of taking the blame, without actually taking any responsibility at all, presenting himself as a victim of unfair vilification. He also later stated that his conscience is clear, and he "came to carry out the struggle, not to kill people."

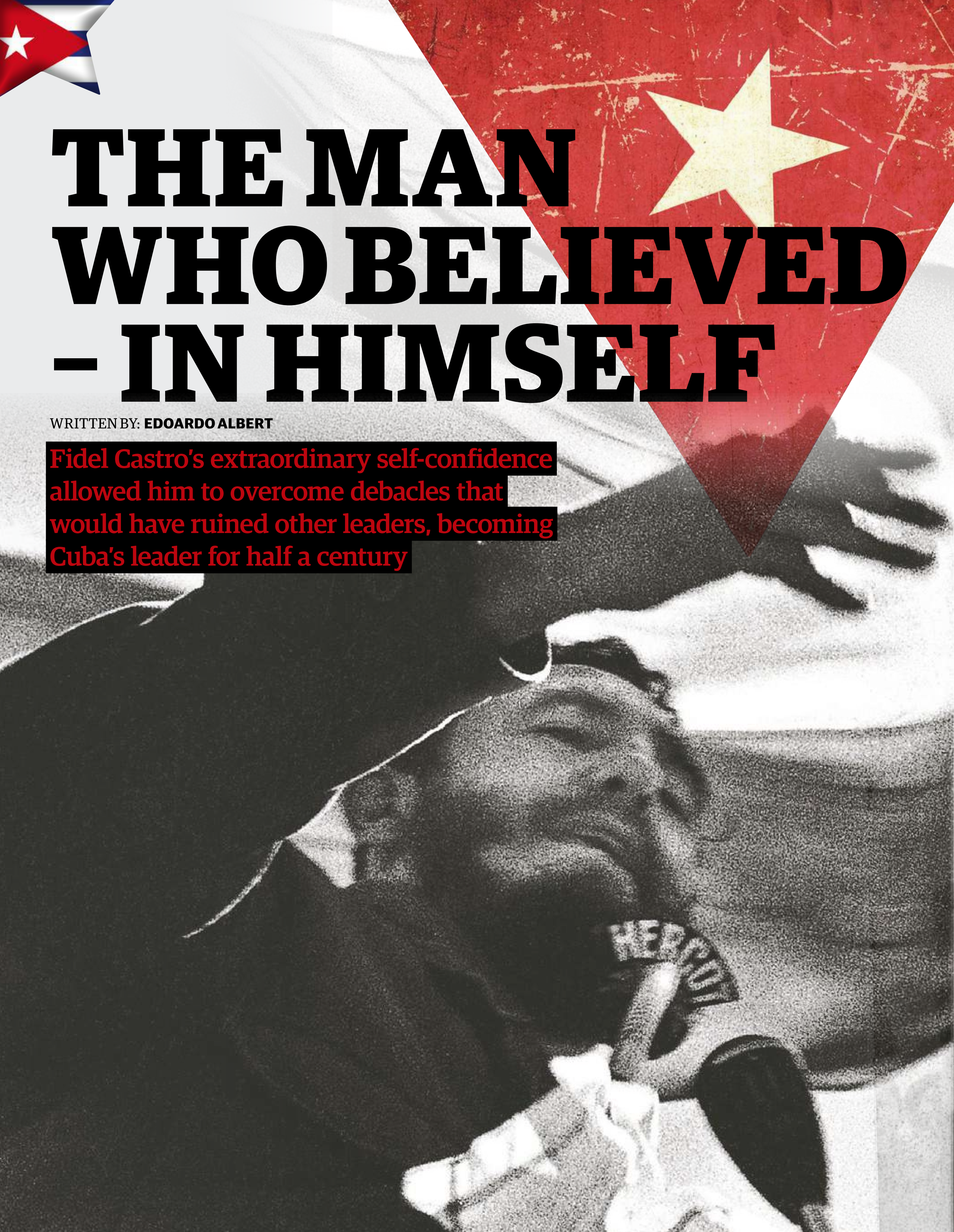
Only two Western reporters actually spoke with Pol Pot at any length, and much of his personal life and personality are still shrouded in mystery. He comes across as a mild, quiet person, and at times even a little slow, and yet it cannot be ignored that his legacy is one of death, destruction and torture. The Khmer Rouge was one of the most brutal regimes of the 20th century and Pol Pot was their leader, despite his reluctance to claim responsibility. The scars of Pol Pot's regime still remain for many Cambodians physically and mentally. Although some senior members of the Khmer Rouge received life sentences for their crime, villagers in Cambodia still live side by side with the men who killed their loved ones as part of the regime and walk free without punishment.

Known as the "Killing Tree", this tree was where executioners beat children to death

THE MAN WHO BELIEVED – IN HIMSELF

WRITTEN BY: **EDOARDO ALBERT**

Fidel Castro's extraordinary self-confidence allowed him to overcome debacles that would have ruined other leaders, becoming Cuba's leader for half a century



There was not much in Fidel Castro's early life to suggest that he would become the crucial figure in modern Cuban history. His background might have been wealthy, but his family were quite unconnected. His father, Ángel Castro y Argiz, had emigrated to Cuba from Spain in 1906, having fought as a conscript in the Spanish army in its last, unsuccessful attempt to retain colonial control of the island. But Ángel Castro made up with work what he lacked in contacts. His son later said that he had arrived in Cuba "and without a cent he started to work".

The greatest influence on the young Fidel, both personally and intellectually, were the Jesuit-run schools that educated him through his teens. These foundations, first in Santiago and then in Havana, were strict and rigorous but they inculcated in Castro great self-discipline, perseverance and determination. Although a good student, Castro put most of his energy into sport, pitching baseball for his school team as well as playing bastketball.

It was his move to Havana University in 1945 that sparked Castro's interest in politics. He soon began to make a name for himself, campaigning (unsuccessfully) for the presidency of the student federation and, in November 1946, delivering a ringing denunciation of the corruption and incompetence of the government that made the front pages of the national newspapers.

Castro finished his studies in 1950, qualifying as a lawyer, and setting up a practice in one of Havana's grittiest slums. His professional profile grew steadily higher through his frequent appearances on local radio stations and contributions to Havana newspapers.

Castro was nominated as a Congressional candidate in the elections scheduled for 1952 and he threw himself into the campaign with everything he had, giving multiple speeches each day through the campaign as well as sending out thousands of leaflets. Castro's party, the Ortodoxo, was on track to win the election. But the election never happened.

On 10 March 1952, General Fulgencio Batista led a military coup that stopped the planned elections and firmly installed himself as president. So the man who had led a revolution back in 1933 now brought his own revolution to an end.

Fidel Castro led several legal challenges against the Batista government, arguing that the general had breached the constitution and government ministers had broken laws. The cases were, unsurprisingly, thrown out by the Cuban courts. With that avenue closed, Castro definitively turned his back on peaceful action to bring about change. So far as he was concerned, the only way to bring down the Batista government was by giving it a taste of its own medicine – violent revolution.

"BUT CASTRO'S ATTACK ON THE GOVERNMENT, WHEN IT CAME, WAS A COMPLETE FIASCO"

He started organising a clandestine network and an underground press, recruiting members to his movement, which was exactly what he called it: El Movimiento, or 'The Movement' in Spanish. By July 1953, the Movement had about 1,200 members. From these, Castro selected 165 to take part in his next move: an attack on the main barracks outside the city of Santiago de Cuba in the province of Oriente. Castro hoped to kickstart the revolution with a heroic demonstration of revolutionary determination. But it all went horribly, comically wrong.

As a part of Castro's reworking of his personal history into the national mythology, the assault on the Moncada Barracks on 26 July 1953 became the first act of the Revolution. In reality, it was a quixotic expedition launched by a man manifestly unconcerned for the lives of his followers (or, to be fair, himself) so long as by their deaths they could make a suitably grand gesture against the country's oppressors. But perhaps the greatest of Castro's abilities was his extraordinary ability to survive: both the plots of assassins and his own political mistakes, mistakes that would have destroyed any man with less innate confidence. But Castro's attack on the government, when it came, was a complete fiasco. Stung into ruthless action, the army set out to hunt down and kill the rebels. Castro managed to hide out in the mountains for six days. As news of the army's brutality spread, the Archbishop of Santiago intervened to save other captured rebels, driving into the mountains to prevent their summary execution. Castro and the other surviving rebels were put in jail outside Santiago to await trial.

The trial of Fidel Castro and other surviving members of the group began on 21 September 1953. Having inveigled a special hearing just for himself, and with the eyes of the nation riveted upon the courtroom, Castro wrote the speech that he intended to give – not in his defence, as he knew that the court would find him guilty, but as his testimony to the wider Cuban public, finishing with a ringing claim that "La historia me absolverá" ("History will absolve me"). Coming at the end of a 240-minute harangue, the final sentence was what was remembered. The judges sentenced Castro to 15 years. He served two years before being released and going into exile in Mexico, where he struck up a fateful friendship with an Argentinian doctor, Ernesto 'Che' Guevara.

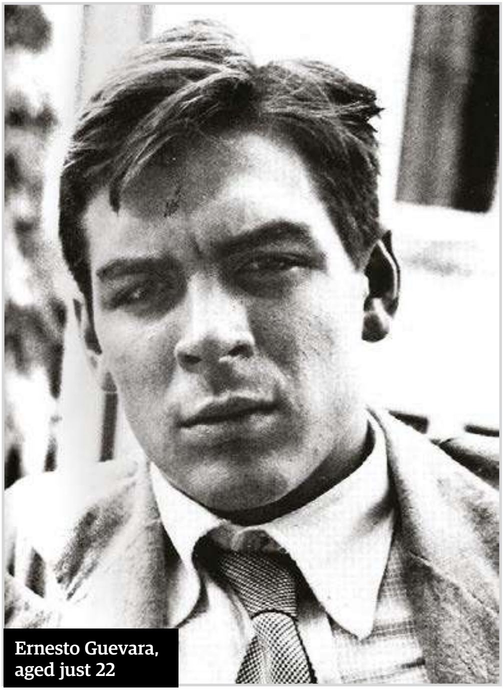
As the group of exiles began military training, Castro appointed Guevara his chief lieutenant. But tension was rising. In Cuba, three members of Batista's government had been murdered. Batista was putting increased pressure on the Mexican authorities to shut down the cabal of Cuban conspirators in their country. The Mexican police started to arrest Castro's people again. Castro ordered his men to make for Tuxpán, the port from which they were going to leave. But even as Castro gave the order, the Movement started falling apart around him. Two members disappeared for America, taking some of the stored weapons with them. Then a

Castro possessed an unusual charisma, which convinced many to take up arms and follow him

General Fulgencio Batista (left), riding with US Army chief of staff Malin Craig in 1938 during a parade

third man vanished. Castro began to fear that his organisation had been hopelessly compromised by the CIA. It was time to move. Castro pulled 'Che' Guevara from the safe house where he was hiding and set off for Tuxpán. Meanwhile, the chief of the Mexican police was receiving reports that exiled Cubans were arriving in large numbers in Tuxpán. But… mañana. It could wait.

Once again, Castro's luck held. He was going to have the chance to board his men aboard the good ship Granma. Only, when they saw the ship, they realised it wasn't a good ship at all, and certainly not fit to hold as many men as were there to board it. But Castro insisted, with his blind faith that truly moved people, that the ship would take everyone and that it would get them to Cuba. 82 men crammed on to the boat with their assorted weapons and, at 2am on 25 November 1956, the Granma set sail.



Ernesto Guevara, aged just 22

This venture pretty much sums up the so-called '26th of July Movement': a plan so ludicrous that only a madman would expect it to succeed. But Castro did. He genuinely believed that he was the man who would bring revolution to Cuba and he continued to believe that despite the manifest evidence to the contrary. This self-confidence was so overwhelming that Castro could convince other people to share it, putting aside the evidence of their memories for the vision he held out in front of them. It was astonishing.

The invasion was as great a fiasco as the attack on the barracks. The Granma was supposed to land on 30 November 1956. Cuban-based cells of the 26th of July Movement launched an insurrection on that day, anticipating Castro's glorious arrival. But there was no sign of the ship. The leaking, overloaded hulk was still inching its way towards Cuba. When Castro had still not landed two days later, the local insurgents gave up their attacks.

The Granma finally landed on 2 December 1956. It was late and in the wrong place, and Batista's men were waiting for them. In the firefight, most of the 81 revolutionaries were killed. But Castro, exhibiting his usual luck, escaped, along with his brother Raúl, Che Guevara and a few others. Of the 81 revolutionaries, only 18 had survived the landing. It was yet another fiasco.

Cubans celebrating Batista's downfall

But where other men would have started to question themselves after such a debacle, Castro's confidence was unshaken. Taking to the hills, the men set about trying to raise a guerrilla army. And in this, Castro received the unwitting help of the Batista government and his army. It turned out that they were even more incompetent than the revolutionaries. Over the next two years, Castro and Guevara led guerrilla attacks on Batista's increasingly demoralised forces, eventually bringing about the collapse of the regime. Batista fled into exile on 31 December 1958, taking around $300 million with him.

On 9 January 1959, Castro entered Havana and immediately set about appointing a new president and prime minister, reserving to himself the post of head of the armed forces – which now consisted of his rebel army. By February, Castro had appointed himself prime minister; by July he was the president too.

Castro had come to power veiled in the romantic history of Cuban nationalism and its series of

“WHERE OTHER MEN WOULD HAVE STARTED TO QUESTION THEMSELVES, CASTRO’S CONFIDENCE WAS UNSHAKEN”

revolutions. But the reality was different. Once in power, he began to quickly strengthen ties with the Soviet Union. In the Cold War climate of the 1950s and 60s, this did not go down well with the neighbouring superpower, the United States. Diplomatic ties between the two countries were cut off in January 1961. Determined to bring an end to a Communist government in what it saw as its own backyard, John F Kennedy’s government sanctioned an invasion by Cuban exiles to bring down Castro’s regime. The Bay of Pigs invasion in April 1961 proved as great a farce as Castro’s own invasion five years earlier, but Castro’s government proved more efficient than Batista’s at hunting down the insurgents – none escaped capture.

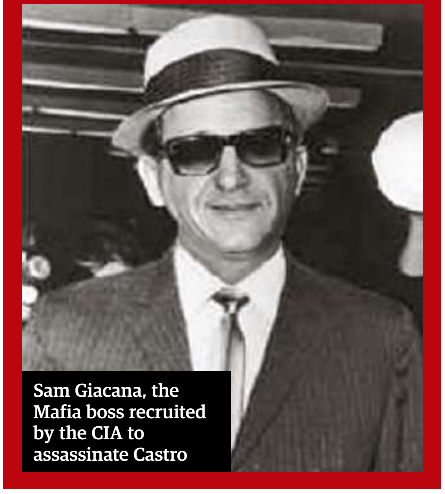
Partly in response, Castro forged even closer links with the Soviet Union, which secretly began to install ballistic nuclear missiles on the island. When the United States found out about these missiles, the world entered crisis – nuclear crisis. The Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962 saw the world come close to nuclear war. The US navy laid Cuba under interdict, while Soviet vessels steamed closer, carrying new batches of warheads. After 13 days of brinkmanship, the Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev, backed down, agreeing to withdraw Soviet missiles from Cuba. The Americans gave an undertaking never to invade Cuba and also quietly withdrew nuclear missiles that they had stationed in Turkey.

KILLING CASTRO

The CIA’s plots to kill Castro ran from the bizarre to the coldly serious

With a communist government just offshore, a series of American administrations sanctioned CIA attempts to assassinate Fidel Castro. Perhaps the most cold-blooded was the enlisting of Mafia bosses Sam Giancana, Johnny Roselli and Santo Trafficante to kill the Cuban leader. At the time, the Mafia bosses were all on the FBI’s 10 Most Wanted list of criminals, so the CIA had to contact them clandestinely, using a go-between. Through its agent, the CIA offered the Mafia bosses $150,000 for Castro’s removal. The two parties agreed to use poisoned pills to kill Castro, which the CIA’s technical services division made, while Giancana recruited a Cuban official to administer the poison to Castro. However, the official was not able to get the poison into Castro’s food, and nor were two other men recruited by the Mafia, so the Mafia/CIA plot to kill Castro came to nothing.

But in comparison to other plots, this was positively sensible. Displaying unexpected, although undisciplined, imagination, the CIA also considered killing Castro by spiking his cigars with botulinum toxin, blowing him up underwater by filling a brightly painted seashell with explosives and rigging it so that it would explode when Castro, who loved scuba diving, went to investigate the unusually bright sea shell. Continuing the underwater theme, another plan was to contaminate one of Castro’s diving suits with fungus, thus infecting him with a skin disease. If they couldn’t kill Castro, the CIA at least hoped to make him an object of ridicule. To that end, they planned to spray the radio studio from which he broadcast to Cuba with a hallucinogen so that the tripping Castro, high on an LSD-like drug, would make a fool of himself live on air. Last and (although there is considerable competition) least, was the plan to make Castro’s beard fall out by soaking his shoes with thallium sulphate. According to Fabián Escalante, a Cuban counter-intelligence chief, there were 638 plots and schemes to kill Castro. In the end, Fidel Castro died on 25 November 2016. He was 90.


Sam Giacana, the Mafia boss recruited by the CIA to assassinate Castro

CASTRO'S WOMEN

El Comandante's personal life was just as turbulent as his political one

A journalist once asked Castro how many children he had fathered. He answered that it wasn't a tribe – less than a dozen. While Castro was happy to be the face of the Cuban Revolution, he kept his personal affairs, and they were many, secret. A state secret. The Cuban media was forbidden to say anything about Castro's personal life. Castro's first wife, Mirta Diaz-Balart, produced one son, but the couple divorced after the imprisoned Fidel discovered that she had accepted a job in the Cuban government – in fact, he flew into such a rage that it seemed he saw himself cuckolded by a state he hated. By his second wife, Dalia Soto del Valle, Castro had five sons. But there were many lovers during and between the marriages, and at least three of these liaisons produced children, perhaps most notably the affair with Natalia Revuelta Clews, who gave birth to Castro's only daughter, Alina Fernández.

Of all Castro's children, Alina seems to be the one who took after her father: she too was a natural rebel. Even as a young girl, Alina said she wanted to leave Cuba. Castro, who took little interest in raising his children, dispatched her to France for a year. Alina returned a beautiful young woman and began working as a model. Then Castro saw a picture of Alina, dressed in a bikini, posing on a yacht in an advertisement for Havana Club rum. El Comandante was livid. He summoned Alina. Alina arrived and father and daughter proceeded to have the mother of all rows, Castro accusing her of lowering his name, Alina hitting back that at least now he was taking an interest in her life. Castro took even more interest when he learned, a few years later, that Alina was planning to defect. He gave orders that she not be allowed to leave Cuba but, on Christmas Eve 1993, Alina slipped out of the country wearing a wig and showing Spanish papers. In exile, Alina was one of Castro's most forthright critics, labelling her father a tyrant. A true rebel.

Castro's only daughter, Alina Fernández, leads a protest against the Castro regime in Cuba

The Cuban army preparing to launch a counter-attack against Castro's insurgents

"IF CASTRO COULD NOT EXERCISE CONTROL OUTSIDE CUBA, HE SET ABOUT ENSURING COMPLETE CONTROL WITHIN THE COUNTRY"

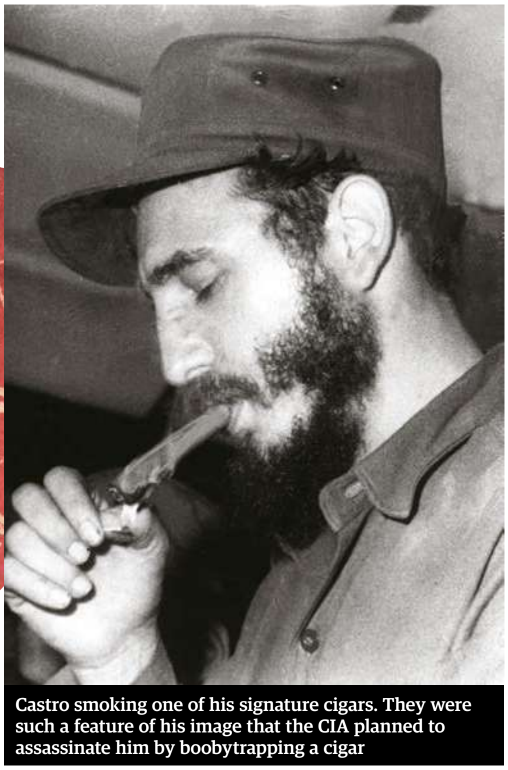
Castro was furious at being abandoned by the Soviet Union, but he was a small fish in a large pond: there was nothing he could do about it. But if Castro could not exercise control outside Cuba, he set about ensuring complete control within the country, suppressing all political opposition.

Seeking to export revolution to other countries, Castro dispatched 'Che' Guevara as a roving revolutionary, conveniently removing a potential political rival from the country at the same time. Guevara first attempted to foment revolution in the Congo and, when that failed, he went to Bolivia, where the army eventually cornered Guevara, capturing and executing the revolutionary on 8 October 1967. His old friend now dead, Castro made 'Che' Guevara the face of the Cuban Revolution, his immortal image emblazoned on walls and posters; Cuban schoolchildren were required to promise to be like 'Che' at the start of each school day. Thus Castro avoided the personality cult attached to other 20th-century dictators: the image of Guevara was infinitely more malleable to his purposes and better looking too, as its presence as a poster on a myriad student bedrooms and T-shirts indicates.

While the Cuban government guaranteed employment to all Cubans, the country's economy depended upon subsidies from the Soviet Union

Castro and Che Guevara have a laugh with a Soviet diplomat

The prison where Castro was incarcerated is now a museum, his bed shown as he left it



Castro smoking one of his signature cigars. They were such a feature of his image that the CIA planned to assassinate him by boobytrapping a cigar

in order to tie the knot of the state's finances. All economic decisions were centralised, with Castro making the calls. Unfortunately, Castro was a lawyer, not an economist: as a result, Cuba's economy continued to languish. Castro himself lived apparently frugally. However, according to the testimony of one of his bodyguards who defected to the United States, this frugality was for public consumption: in private, Castro lived as lavish a lifestyle as the man he had overthrown, General Batista.

While Guevara had failed in his attempts to export revolution, Castro was willing to use the Cuban army abroad to help revolutionary and anti-colonial movements. In particular, Cuban troops took part in the Angolan civil war, and helped Ethiopia repel an invasion from Somalia. Amid the ongoing tensions of the Cold War, the Americans assumed that Cuba was acting as a Soviet proxy force, but documents released since the dissolution of the Soviet empire indicate that Castro was acting on his own behalf, as he sought to position himself as the head of the non-aligned bloc, those countries that sought to avoid enlisting on either side of the Cold War. In this, Castro largely succeeded, despite his obvious and close links with the Soviet Union.

When Mikhail Gorbachev, the new Soviet leader, in the late 1980s began allowing a measure of freedom both within the Soviet Union and among its satellite countries, Castro maintained his old revolutionary, one-party, one-state line. So it came as a hideous shock to Castro and the Cuban government when the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991. The Cold War was over, with barely a shot fired. Castro was on the wrong side of history.

The sudden loss of Soviet subsidies plunged Cuba into an economic crisis. In response, Castro had little choice but to relax some of the rigid government controls on the economy, allowing some free enterprise while making sure that there was no political dissent. He also began to allow those Cubans who wanted to, to emigrate. But where the other Soviet client states saw revolution and the fall of governments, in Cuba, Castro remained firmly in charge. Indeed, Castro only temporarily relinquished power on 31 July 2006, when he installed his brother, Raúl, as president so that he could recover from surgery. Castro continued in poor health, however, and gave up the presidency permanently in 2008. On 19 April 2011, he stepped down as leader of the Communist Party, with Raúl taking up that role as well.

Fidel Castro died on 25 November 2016. The Cuban government did not give a cause of death. From 1959 to 2008, Castro had been the leader of his country. He had defied the United States, and stifled all dissent at home. He had avoided assassination hundreds of times, while fomenting war abroad. Fidel Castro proclaimed himself a communist to the end, but it is clear that what Castro really and truly believed in, above all else, was himself. Cuba, his country, had to go along with that unshakeable, unswerving self-belief.

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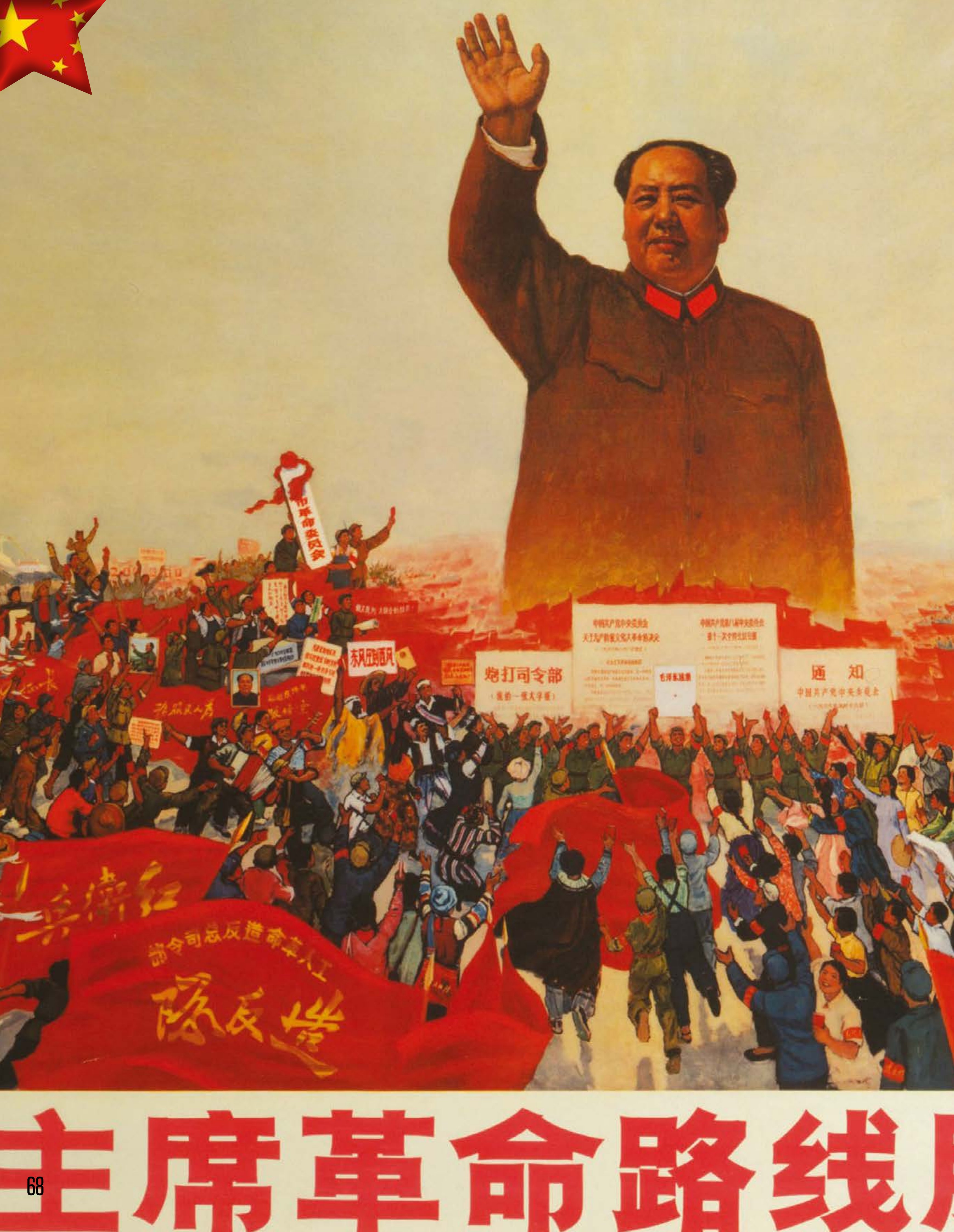
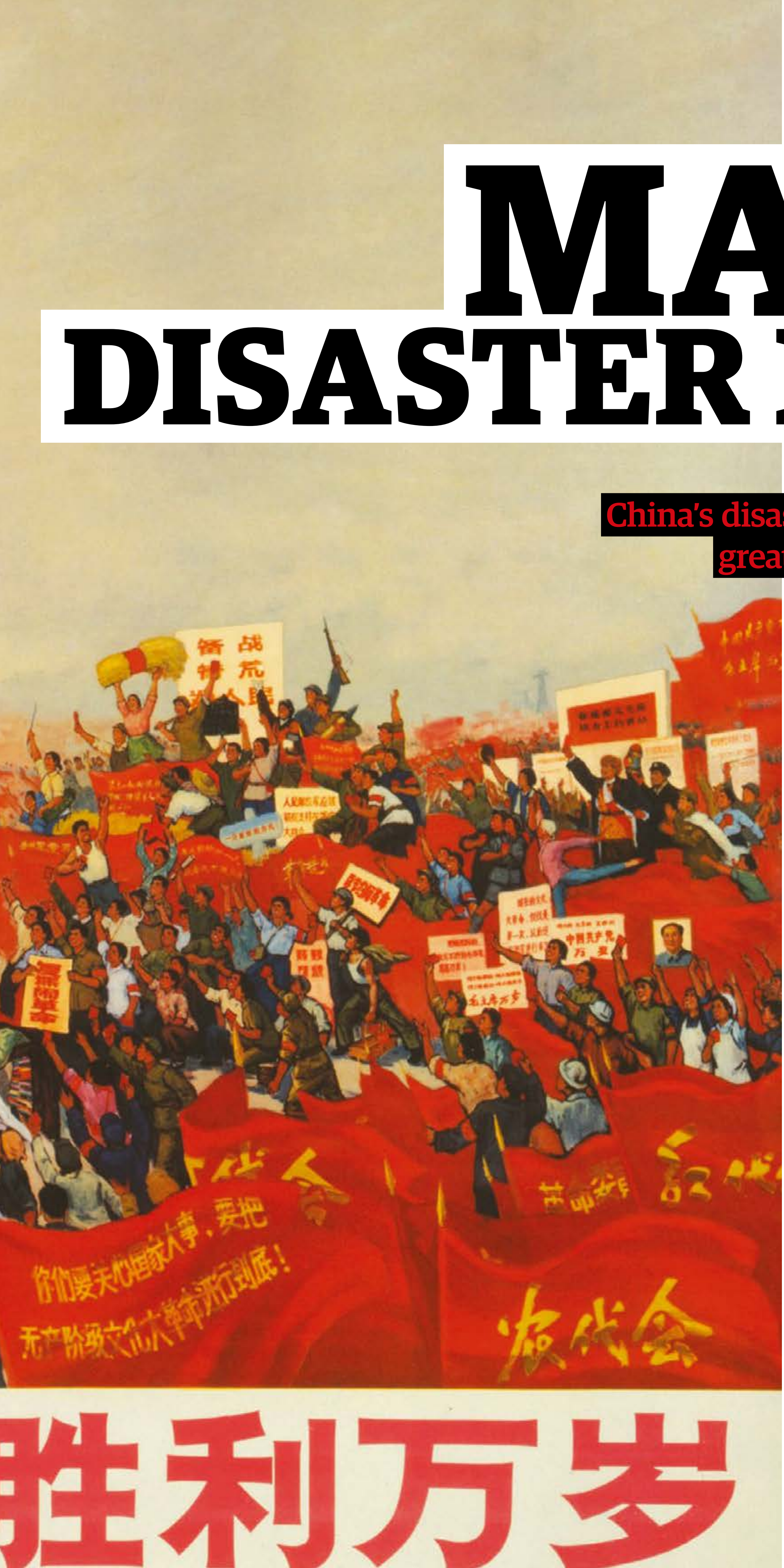

市革命委员会
东风压倒西风
炮打司令部
（我的一张大字报）
中国共产党中央委员会关于无产阶级文化大革命的决定
中国共产党第八届中央委员会第十一次全体会议公报
毛泽东选集
通知
中国共产党中央委员会
兵衛紅
工人造反总司令部
队反造
主席革命路线

MAO'S DISASTER PLAN

WRITTEN BY: **CHRIS FENTON**

China's disastrous bid to become the greatest country in the world


你们要关心国家大事，要把
无产阶级文化大革命进行到底！
农代会
胜利万岁

In 1940 China was in hell. The country was overrun with foreign invaders, the government was powerless and the workers fought among themselves for the scraps falling from the tables of petty warlords. How did the celestial kingdom come to this? The communists knew the answer - through the arrogance and pomposity of China's noble emperors. Communism had changed all that and chased away the foreign devils, pushed aside their rightist puppets and, by 1949, had established a peoples' China. The self-styled driving force behind this revolution was Mao Zedong, the chairman of the Chinese Communist Party and a man of the people. Rising from humble proletariat beginnings in Hunan province's rural China, Mao had grown up with revolution fervor in his veins. Having witnessed the destruction of Chinese power and heritage during the early 20th century, he had become a committed nationalist and later a communist, dedicating himself to the restoration of Chinese power through collective struggle. He had seen the Chinese peoples' spirit when properly motivated during the Communist Party's retreat into the mountains, which would later be dubbed the Long March, and the triumph of communist ideals after the destruction of the fascists led by Chiang Kai-Shek - his greatest rival. Now, under his leadership, China would be great again.

Mao's plan was to instigate a radical industrialisation of the Chinese countryside, creating mass communes to produce grain, rice and steel to turn the country into a superpower.

> "MAO'S PLAN WAS TO INSTIGATE A RADICAL INDUSTRIALISATION OF THE CHINESE COUNTRYSIDE"

“MAO’S IDEOLOGY HAD SHACKLED A GRIM EXISTENCE OF ABSOLUTE POVERTY TO THE PROVINCES AND HAD KILLED MILLIONS”

The population was to be organised on a mass scale - this was no time to think small, the Chinese strength was in its population and the entire country had to work to make China great again. These reforms combined to form the Great Leap Forward. He ignored economists who argued for a gradual industrialisation process rather than a single quick bound and those who said that the post-feudal Chinese society couldn’t handle so much change so quickly. Anyone who got in the way of his vision was against Mao and so against China. So, in May 1958, the Communist Party agreed to Mao’s proposals. China braced itself for its Great Leap Forward out of hell into a workers’ paradise. What followed was one of the worst humanitarian disasters in history.

Mobilisation and ideological conditioning of the Chinese people was absolutely key. Under Mao’s plans, all private property and private action was banned. Every Chinese rural worker was forced into communes, thousands strong, to create a mass land army to produce grain that would pay for new equipment from abroad and lead to the production of steel. Under the commune system workers would sleep in dormitories, eat in huge communal kitchens and work a ’48-hour working day, with six hours for rest’ as the People’s Daily, Mao’s propaganda newspaper, proudly proclaimed. There was not even room for traditional Chinese family roles in the new collectivist utopia - children were sent to mass crèches and women into the fields to work.

Party officials would ‘herd villagers in the fields to sleep and to work intolerable hours, forcing them to walk to distant additional projects.’ As villagers watched their homes get destroyed to make way for the mass communes, some wept. One villager cried: “Destroying my home is even worse than digging up my ancestor’s gravestone!” Mao was delighted and commented: “The notion of utopia mentioned by our predecessors will be realised and surpassed.” Initial results sent back to Beijing were more optimistic than Mao could possibly imagine. The harvest was so good that communist workers were encouraged to eat ‘five meals a day’ in the communal food halls. As one commune worker put it: “It was real communism… we got to eat things made from wheat flour every day and they were always slaughtering pigs for us. For a while it seemed that they were telling the truth and we were going to enter heaven.”

Mao saw no need to wait for grain production to start rendering export capital and commanded steel production to start immediately. He instigated a cottage industry for the steel program - Chinese urban dwellers and rural workers were told to make steel in their backyards with primitive furnaces. Foreign visitors were impressed when they visited Beijing and saw the cityscape lit up with the contained fires of Mao’s mini steel plants in the back gardens of his comrades. As one commune member recalled: “The more metal you collected, the more revolutionary you were.”

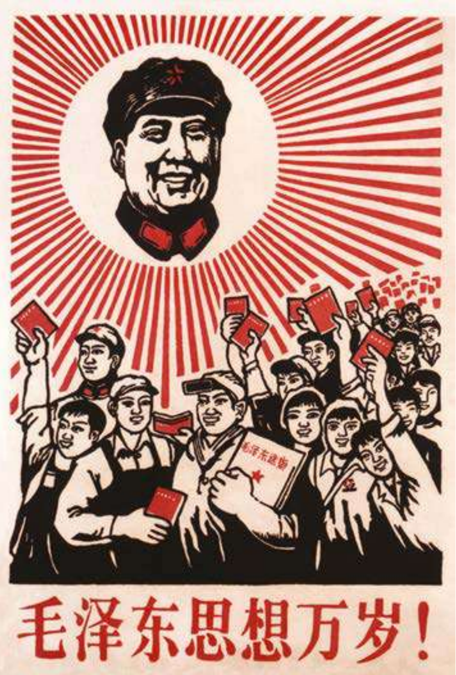
Mao instructed grain harvesting to be switched to cash crops, such as cotton and for steel production to be given the highest priority. The figures for the 1958 harvest showed there was more than enough food to go around so, as far as Mao was concerned, China should continue to bound forward. In August, Mao raised the target for steel production from six to nine million tons. Provincial leaders spoke of unleashing ‘surprise attacks’ into the fields with ‘shock armies’ of mobilised labour to gather in cotton and begin collecting metal for steel production. War was also declared on flies, rats, mosquitoes and grain-eating sparrows. As the weather closed in and Chinese workers began to feel the grind of their 48-hour days, loudspeakers in every commune boomed out Party propaganda: “Our workers are strong, the people’s communes are good!” By now grain was being left out in the field as workers frantically scrambled through their communes trying to find raw material for their backyard steel plants.

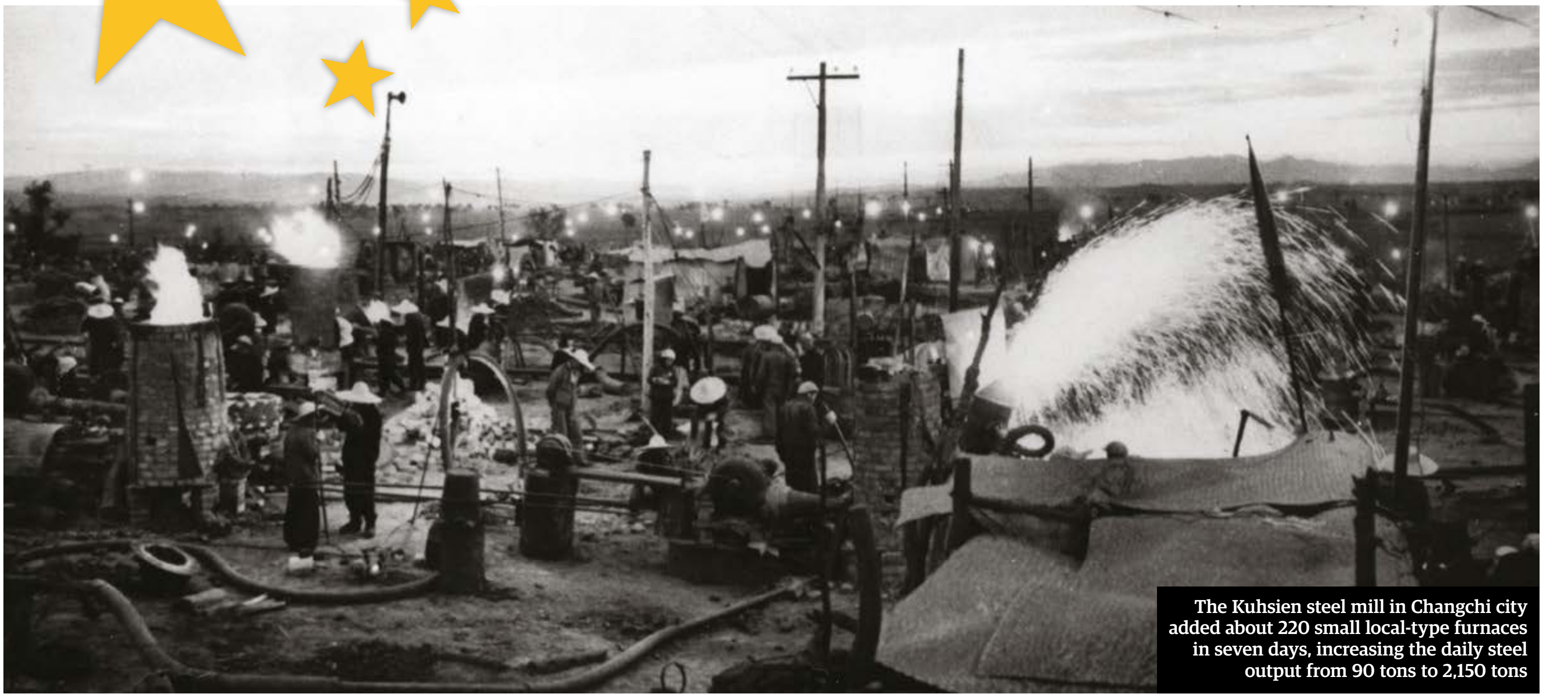
Party ideology was relentless and the eradication of sparrows became fanatical, but by killing the sparrows there were no longer any predators that could kill the insects that were now destroying

A crowd stare at a victim of the famine

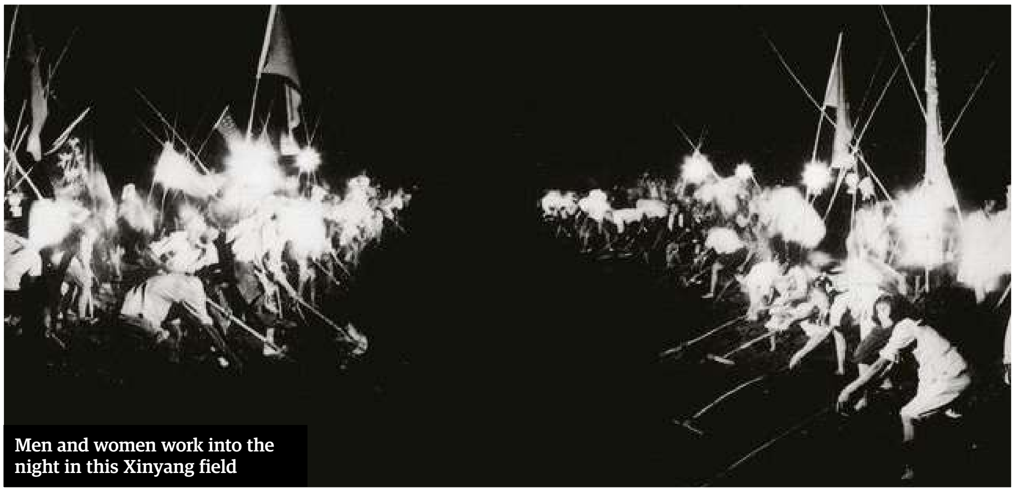
THE LITTLE RED BOOK

Mao’s little red book, more formally known as Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong, details the deepest aspects of Mao’s wisdom. It was first compiled during the Great Leap Forward by committed Maoist Lin Biao in 1960. While the original text is a tedious diatribe collecting over 400 selected quotes about the evils of capitalism and the need for continuous revolution against the bourgeoisie, its condensed version, the little red book, was used extensively during the Cultural Revolution by Maoists after the failure of the Great Leap Forward. The book preached non-violence to solve internal disputes and democracy among the instruments of the Communist Party, but also marked unity and a continuous form of revolution as key to a successful communist state. These contradictory lines resulted in violence among fanatical Maoist supporters and the supposed enemies of the state during the Cultural Revolution. Critics have argued that the book’s publication was little more than an attempt to raise the profile of Mao after the failure of the Great Leap even though Mao insisted the book represented his inner thoughts about the subject of Marxism. Despite Mao’s disapproval of profit-making enterprises in the book, he wasn’t above claiming millions in royalties when it became a bestseller - only the Bible has more copies in circulation.





The Kuhsien steel mill in Changchi city added about 220 small local-type furnaces in seven days, increasing the daily steel output from 90 tons to 2,150 tons



Men and women work into the night in this Xinyang field

crops. Other such contradictory policies emerged. Mao's obsession with steel production meant there were no longer enough workers to bring in crops and they sat uncollected in fields, rotting away as food reserves diminished.

The ideological pressure worked so well that no one really knew China was marching headlong into a disaster until it was too late. The 1958 harvest was modestly successful, but no one wanted to tell Mao that it wasn't a resounding success. A poor harvest followed but even so, the workers were encouraged to 'fill their bellies until they burst' and as a result the food supplies were quickly ate through. Since the commune system had not envisaged transporting large amounts of food to other communes, food could not be transported to the areas that were now suffering from famine. In a Guangdong commune, a six-month supply of rice was eaten in 20 days and then the old and weak started to die of starvation.

The violent hysteria Maoism had created was now directed against the people, as starving Chinese workers began to weaken through malnutrition and the nightmare poverty of the commune system. Special 'criticism sessions' were established by Party officials within rural villages and miscreants who were not meeting the required working standards were paraded in front of the entire village, and Communist Party members forced other villagers to beat and humiliate the accused. The good harvests indicated by the official statistics meant that Mao continued to insist that steel was brought in to build his great utopia.

Thousands of rural peasants were forced through beatings and intimidation to abandon food production and concentrate on making steel from their furnaces, despite the hunger they were now experiencing. One communist inspector noted on the punishments: "Commune members too sick to work are deprived of food. It hastens their deaths." The persecution within the rural areas was terrible, but things were even worse in urban dwellings. Constant Party propaganda, mixed with the terrifying prospect of being selected for 'criticism', meant that urban dwellers had to toe the line and endure the endless working hours. Industrial accidents in factories were commonplace due to exhaustion and Soviet advisors teaching the industrial techniques left after abuse and molestation by Mao's officials, taking with them their expert knowledge. When asked about production figures, a typical response from one foreman was: "Day in, day out, they telephone for figures… who cares if they are true or false? Everyone is just going through the motions!" One man had his ears chopped off, was tied up with iron wire and branded with a white hot tool after he stole a potato from a communal plot near a factory. The worker's utopia had become a proletarian nightmare.

As the summer of 1958 turned into the harsh reality of early 1959, the supposedly glorious Great Leap had turned into a cold drop into the abyss. The decision to carry on regardless rested with the workers' paradise itself - China and its rotten communist system. There was no doubt in the mind of Mao that the Great Leap was working at the end of 1958, but this was because the system had created die-hard communist rhetoric and by 1959 that's all that Mao was hearing.

Part of the great Maoist vision was to enable communes to organise themselves - subject to strict Party controls - and give them centrally dictated grain and produce quotas that the provisional leaders had to meet. Of course, it would take a brave man, or a suicidal one, to return to the communist leadership anything

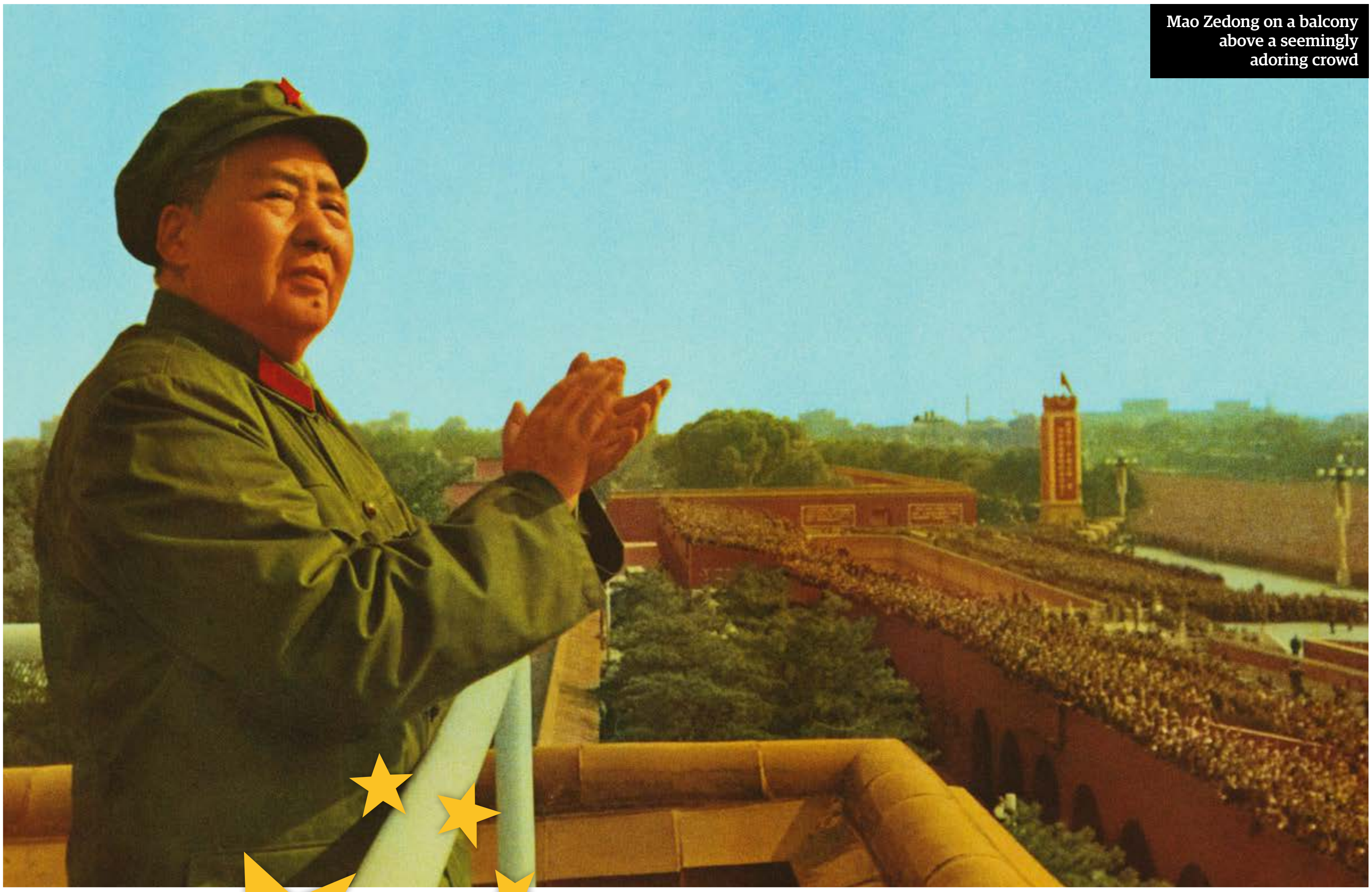
“THE GREAT LEAP WAS NO LONGER ABOUT GRAIN, COMMUNISM OR EVEN CHINA. IT WAS ABOUT MAO’S UNQUENCHABLE AMBITION”

other than glowing reports of fabulous harvests and content workers. Local leaders from Sichuan province were often compelled to revise their grain figures upwards if the original amount was felt to be not what the Party wanted to hear. Doctored photos were taken for the People’s Daily of children lying on tightly packed wheat six-feet high. It was a delusion, the people were starving, but the Party swallowed the lie and Mao insisted on bigger targets, which created a culture of deceit among the provinces. If one area had a high grain production, whether falsified or not, its neighbouring area would double their figures. Even the Mao-endorsed ‘make your own steel’ furnace was a fabrication. The high-quality steel Mao saw from the prototype was probably imported from one of the Soviet-model factories outside of Beijing.

This was Mao’s fantasy world and it was lethal. By the end of 1959, as the full force of the disaster unfolded, the time China would need to overtake Britain economically was slashed from 15 years to five and then down to two by the Party. One of the first test communes in Henan was named ‘Let us overtake England’. Its inhabitants starved after their farmers were sent to produce steel and their fields flooded due to poor irrigation control. Locusts ate what was left of their crops. Terrified provisional leaders carefully managed tours by Party leaders.

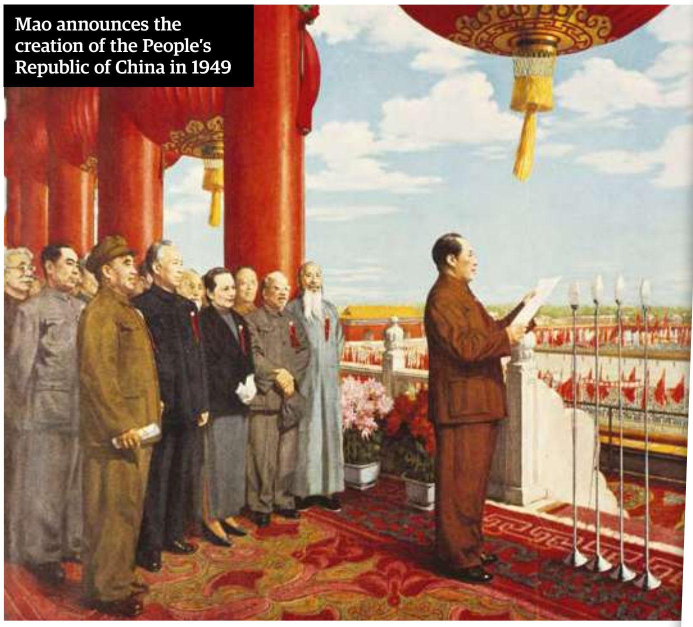
At the beginning of 1959, Marshal Peng Dehuai, a ranking People’s Liberation Army soldier who was deeply committed to the wellbeing of the peasant farmers, visited the communes and was appalled. He was convinced that the Leap had been an utter disaster. He talked to the emaciated peasants trying desperately to manufacture steel even though they were starving and asked: “Hasn’t any one of you given a thought to what you will eat next year if you don’t bring in the crops? You’re never going to be able to eat steel.” The response was typical: “True enough, but who would stand up against this wind [command]?” Even the usually-brave Peng thought better of saying anything to the Chairman himself. Then, in the summer of 1959 after seeing the latest fabricated figures from the communes, Peng could restrain himself no longer. He wrote Mao a letter describing the Great Leap as a ‘wind of exaggeration.’ Mao’s response was to throw a temper tantrum and in a speech to the Party he described Peng as a ‘bourgeois rightist’ who needed to strengthen his backbone. Peng was promptly forced out of Mao’s inner circle to live among the peasants in a run-down area of Beijing. The standard line from the Party was spoken by a Mao favourite, Shanghai leader Ke Qingshi: “We should obey the Chairman to the extent of total abandon, in every respect - thinking, perspective, foresight and method - we are way behind [Mao].” There was only one man who could stop the Great Leap from bounding into greater destruction: Mao himself.

The beginning of 1960 brought with it grim statistics. Average available grain per head had dropped from 311 kilograms in 1958 to 191 in 1960. Mao’s ideology had shackled a grim existence of absolute poverty to the provinces and coupled



Mao Zedong on a balcony above a seemingly adoring crowd

Mao visits farmers in 1958 to congratulate them on high yields



Mao announces the creation of the People's Republic of China in 1949

A young Mao Zedong makes a speech to some of his followers with the corrupt, sycophantic communist system, had killed millions. People were eating tree bark and gnawing the flesh off corpses lying unattended in Chinese streets; all from a country that was supposedly producing 596 million tons of grain a year. Mao was convinced it was everyone else's fault. He blamed the provincial officials for not following his reforms closely enough, then for following them too rigidly. He blamed the Party in 1959 when he sensed that the officials were starting to move away from him, which after the Leap's failure was becoming glaringly obvious. His rants became more drawn out, claiming the revolution was "under a combined attack from within and outside the Party." A new anti-fascist campaign was launched by Mao, which purged anyone who wasn't feeding him the lies he wanted to hear. In the end, he blamed communism itself. In a heated speech to the Party after reports that peasants were dying of exhaustion, he said: "If you don't follow me, I'll do it myself… even to the lengths of abandoning my Party membership and even to the extent of bringing a suit against Marx himself." The Great Leap was no longer about grain, communism or even China. It was about Mao and his unquenchable ambition, even though the forces of reality were blocking him in his quest.

A prisoner is subjected to public criticism

As the months rolled by in 1960, and the population became weaker and weaker, Mao began to realise the country was in turmoil. The United States offered humanitarian aid and, in a final act of humiliation, so did Japan. They were all refused and Mao descended into a depressive stupor. The Party members became more vocal in their dissent but Mao used his traditional form of intimidation. He threatened to purge dissenters, even going so far as saying: "I will go into the countryside to lead the peasants to overthrow the government." The level of these misguided tantrums was only matched by the amount Mao was now out of touch with reality. The famine had crippled large parts of the country's infrastructure; the only official organ that was working was the Communist Party and its lackeys. Even if Mao's supporters were willing to follow him through another civil war, the population was no longer physically capable of fighting one.

Finally, in 1960, Mao approved some roll back on the Great Leap. He allowed the economic planner Chen Yun to cut back on steel production and concentrate on farming grain for the starving populace. The farcical quota system was made more attainable and thousands of industrialisation projects were cancelled. It was far too late. Over 30 million Chinese citizens lay dead, mostly due to starvation but a good portion due to the savage punishments imposed by Party officials. Some official Communist Party figures put the figure at 40 million dead. Mao's doctor had to order in more sleeping pills for the great leader.

By the end of 1960 China was in hell once again, however this new hell was called Maoism and it was digging China deeper into the depths of starvation and absolute poverty than it had ever gone before. Mao's ideology and propaganda had convinced the people to starve themselves by their own hands, it had forced the communist system to hasten their fates and had even deluded Mao himself. On Mao's birthday that year, the inner circle of the Party faithful dined on bird's nest soup, baby doves, shark's fin and the finest wine. The event was noted for the vast amounts of alcohol consumed, with at least one top-ranking official falling down drunk. Around the same time a Chinese peasant recalled the death around her due to the famine: "The people were numb, you just carried on as usual – no fear of death, no emotion for the living."

Mao's vision

May 1958
The Great Leap Forward begins. Millions of Chinese workers are inspired and motivated by Maoist communism, striving to shake off their feudal existence and become happy, productive state workers.

Harvest 1958
The harvest in 1958 is so bountiful and the commune system is working so well that Mao insists that workers eat five meals a day in the communal kitchens, fulfilling the ideal of the workers' paradise.

April 1959
The timetable for overtaking Britain is shrunk from 15 to two years. The workers are producing grain, cotton and steel in such large quantities that export capital is building huge industrial cities.

June 1959
Mao addresses the Luschan Party conference in triumph. He has stared down the capitalists in America and the class traitors in the Soviet Union that told him he couldn't make China a world power.

1960
China has become so powerful that the Western imperialists are forced to treat with Mao on his terms. American bases in Japan are forced to close and the Soviet Union now takes its lead from Beijing.

1948

1948

China's reality

May 1958
The Great Leap Forward begins. Millions of Chinese workers are displaced and forced to relinquish all private property, leave their ancestral homes and begin grinding 48-hour working days.

Harvest 1958
The 1958 harvest succeeds, but the Party overestimates its success to please Mao. In reality there is not enough food in the country for the workers and reserves are depleted by the communal kitchens.

April 1959
Fifteen provinces are now suffering from drought and 25 million people need urgent food relief. There is no help forthcoming from the government as the Party had not planned for such an eventuality. The workers are suppressed.

June 1959
Mao is forced to fight for his position at the Lushan conference. Loud voices in the Party are now saying that the country is in chaos. As a final act of humiliation, China is offered food aid by America and Japan.

1960
With the country in chaos and over 30 million people dead, Mao's power within the Party weakens. He is forced to accept partial blame for the Great Leap and allows Party officials to roll back his plans.

Failures

Communal eating

Maoist communism commanded the people to live side by side in communes and eat together in communal kitchens. When the Great Leap started, workers were encouraged to eat as much as they wanted in the communal kitchens. What followed was severe food shortages as the harvests could not support such demand for food and the communist system wasn't strong enough to provide food aid to all parts of the country. This led to famine.

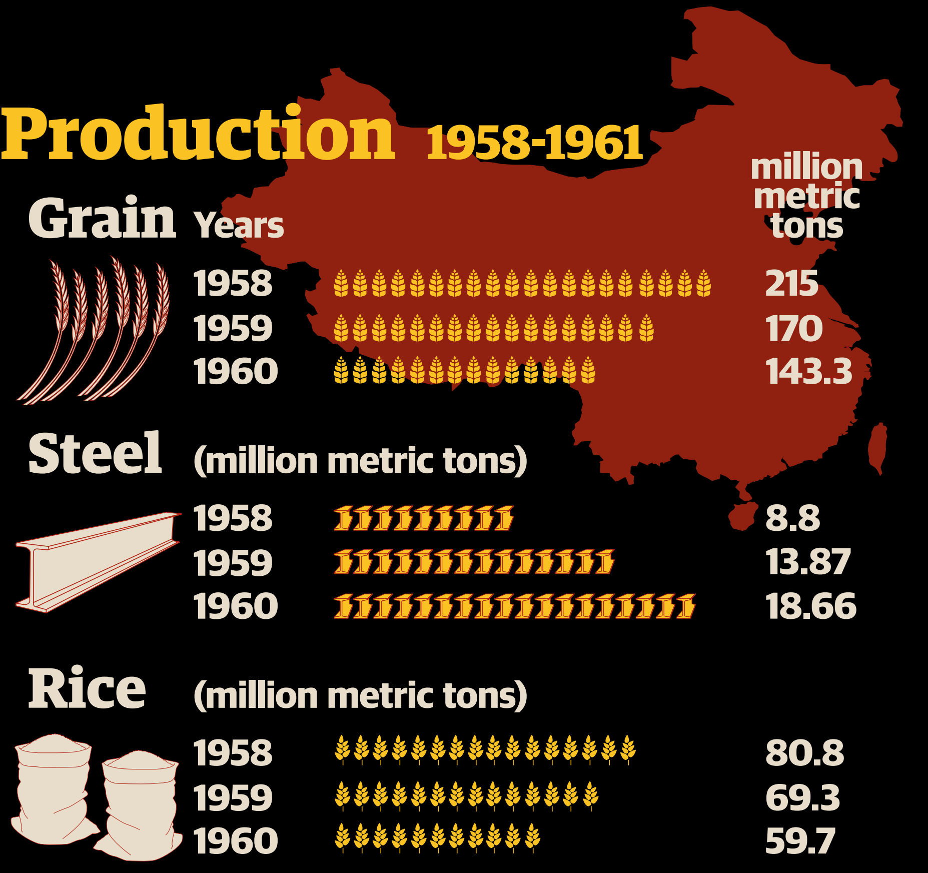
Steel furnaces

Mao's backyard steel industry was a disaster from the beginning, the prototype he saw probably did not produce the high-quality steel he was told it did. Feeding low-quality metal into the furnaces only served to create low-quality produce, meaning the workers were wasting their time. After millions of starving workers tried to produce steel rather than food, Mao was convinced to leave steel production to proper industrial facilities and skilled workers.

Irrigation

Thousands of starving peasants died creating ill-conceived and poorly planned irrigation projects throughout China. Mao knew the importance of irrigation to a country that had a vast amount of land and an unpredictable climate, but had expelled the Soviet engineers sent to help China establish such large projects. The irrigation projects that were built created droughts in some areas and flooding in others, as poorly trained Chinese agriculture engineers were ordered to set about irrigating Chinese fields without expert advice.

Production 1958-1961



Grain

Years	million metric tons
1958	215
1959	170
1960	143.3

Steel

(million metric tons)

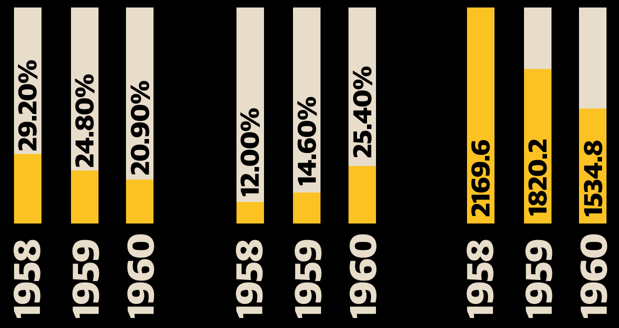
1958	8.8
1959	13.87
1960	18.66

Rice

(million metric tons)

1958	80.8
1959	69.3
1960	59.7

Population 1958-1961



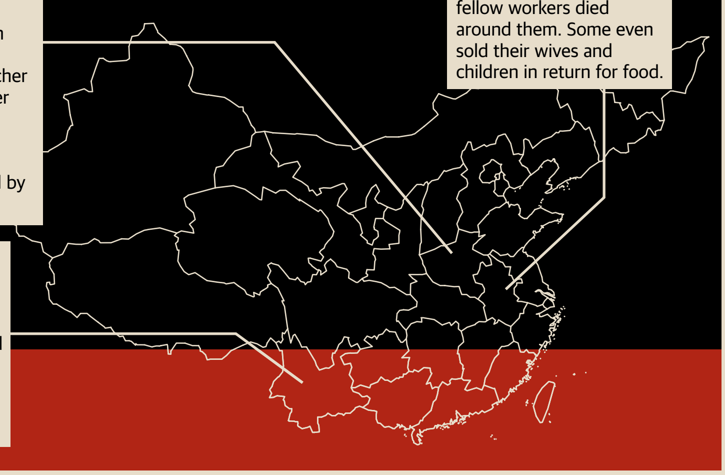
	1958	1959	1960
Birth rate	29.20%	24.80%	20.90%
Death rate	12.00%	14.60%	25.40%
Calories per day	2169.6	1820.2	1534.8

Overall figures

38,000,000
estimated deaths due to starvation

10,729,000
estimated deaths due to punishment/ internment

Specific events



Anhui
In one of the worst affected areas by the famine, workers resorted to cannibalism as their fellow workers died around them. Some even sold their wives and children in return for food.

Henan
Party militias fanned out across the country and brutalised the population to force them to work. According to one researcher in Daoxian county ten per cent of those who died during the Leap were "buried alive, clubbed to death or otherwise killed by Party members."

Yunnan
As a high-profile Mao supporter, the leader of Yunnan instructed his workers to work 'day and night' for two weeks to increase steel and rice production. Thousands died of exhaustion.

© Corbis; Alamy; Getty

THE COMMUNIST WHO ☭ DEFIED STALIN ☭

JOSIP BROZ TITO

Meet the communist dictator who ruled behind the Iron Curtain but stood apart from the USSR

WRITTEN BY: **SCOTT REEVES**

Josip Broz liked to do things differently. A communist dictator who carved out his own particular brand of socialism in Yugoslavia, Broz – or Tito, a name he adopted as an underground revolutionary – was regarded with a combination of uneasy suspicion and respect in both Washington, DC, and Moscow. He straddled the Cold War and held his diverse country together in a dangerous world.

Born on 7 May 1892 in a northern Croatian village, at that time part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Broz was the child of a Croat father and Slovene mother. His early years saw him travel widely in search of work, initially as a locksmith, then in automotive factories, including stints in Trieste, Zagreb, Munich and Vienna. As a result, Broz experienced poor working conditions throughout central Europe and took an interest in workers' affairs. He joined the Metal Workers' Union at the age of 18 and was an active participant in several May Day strikes.

Broz was summoned to compulsory military service in the Austro-Hungarian army in May 1913. He was quickly promoted to sergeant major but came close to not seeing any action in the First World War – when war broke out and his regiment marched to the Serbian border, Broz was arrested for sedition, perhaps for espousing his socialist views. He was eventually acquitted and sent to the Russian front in early 1915, serving for a few months before being captured in a Russian offensive near Bukovina.

Broz was still a prisoner of war in Russia when revolution broke out in 1917. When the camp he was in was left unguarded in the chaos, Broz walked free and sneaked aboard a goods train bound for Petrograd. Here he took part in the July Days workers' demonstrations and was arrested as a suspected Bolshevik by the Provisional Government. The Russians attempted to return him to a POW camp but Broz escaped and sneaked aboard another train, this time heading for Siberia. Learning that Lenin had seized control of Petrograd, Broz volunteered for the International Red Guard and fought in the Civil War on the side of the Bolsheviks.

In autumn 1920, Broz returned to his homeland with a Siberian wife, although much had changed since he had left. With the Austro-Hungarian Empire now consigned to history, his birthplace was now part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, more commonly known as Yugoslavia. Broz joined the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, but the rapidly growing movement was outlawed following the 1921 assassination of the Minister of the Interior by a young communist. Being a member of the underground organisation made life hard for Broz – he was fired from jobs, arrested for a seditious speech at a comrade's funeral and forced to accept his home being searched regularly.

In 1925, Broz committed even further to the

10434.
Broz Josip

Tito, showing off a model of a Yugoslav car factory at a trade fair, relied on foreign loans to keep his economy afloat communist cause and became a professional revolutionary, finding work in a shipyard and a railway works with the intention of stirring up workers to strike against their employers and rebel against the government. He was sentenced to four months in prison for being a member of the banned Communist Party but skipped bail pending an appeal and went into hiding. When the police finally caught up with Broz again a year later he was sentenced to five years for the possession of explosives. After serving the full term he was rearrested at the prison gates and forced to serve the four months he had previously managed to evade.

Upon his eventual release in March 1934 Broz found that the world had again changed a great deal during his absence. The Wall Street Crash had sparked a worldwide economic depression, fascism was a growing force across Europe and Adolf Hitler had been appointed Chancellor of Germany. Although now a marked man, Broz was as determined as ever to serve the communist cause and continued to work for the still-illegal party. He used various pseudonyms to disguise his identity, but the one that stuck was Tito, a common nickname in his homeland.

Tito was appointed to the Yugoslav Politburo and despatched to the USSR to report the activities of Yugoslav communists, moving deftly in diplomatic circles and eventually rising to General Secretary of the Yugoslav Communist Party. Tito survived Stalin's purges of foreign communists by avoiding what he called Stalin's "injustices".

Tito managed to walk the tightrope of non-alignment between the superpowers in the Cold War

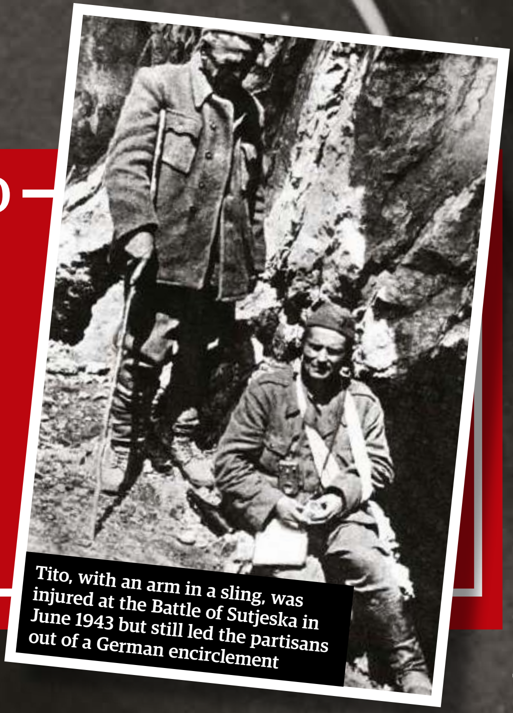
Communist revolutionary Josip Broz was arrested and imprisoned by the Yugoslav authorities several times in the interwar years

CRIMINAL TO WAR HERO

Although he was still a wanted revolutionary in 1941, Tito's response to the Axis invasion of Yugoslavia was swift. He formed a Military Committee within the Yugoslav Communist Party, was appointed Commander in Chief of the communist partisan resistance and issued a pamphlet calling on people to unite against the occupiers. However, the partisans soon clashed with a rival resistance movement, the chetniks, who favoured limited cooperation and collaboration with the Axis occupiers until an Allied landing could take place.

Tito's partisans were initially poorly armed and could only gain new weaponry from the invaders, but their relentless guerrilla warfare slowly reclaimed chunks of Yugoslav territory. Unlike the chetniks, who recruited only Serbians, Tito was the leader of a multi-ethnic organisation and could therefore draw on support throughout the country.

Recognising the growing threat he posed, the Axis carried out seven different offensives to try to wipe out the partisans, but none succeeded in killing Tito. Once the Allies switched from backing the chetniks to the partisans an unstoppable momentum began to build. By the end of the war, the partisans numbered more than 800,000 men and women and had pushed the Axis beyond the Yugoslav border. The former convict had liberated the country that imprisoned him.



Tito, with an arm in a sling, was injured at the Battle of Sutjeska in June 1943 but still led the partisans out of a German encirclement

The Second World War initially bypassed Yugoslavia, but Axis forces invaded the country on 6 April 1941. Yugoslavia's military forces quickly crumbled and King Peter II fled, but Tito rallied resistance under the communist banner and established partisan brigades to fight the invaders. They fought fiercely and were so successful in harassing the enemy that the Allies began to back Tito and send him supplies - even Peter II called upon all Yugoslavs to recognise Tito's leadership. Towards the end of 1945, the partisans - with some support from the Soviet Army - began to push the occupying Axis forces out of the country. Yugoslavia was liberated and Tito was hailed as the resistance hero who saved the country.

Tito was named Prime Minister in the provisional government, a position he retained when post-war elections saw a comprehensive victory for the Communist Party. The monarchy was abolished and Tito reformed the country as a socialist state with six constituent republics largely based on ethnic nationalities: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia. His partisan armies were moulded into the People's Army; the State Security Administration and Department of People's Security were set up as his secret police. Former Nazis and collaborators were put on trial, but other political opponents came under attack too - notably Draža Mihailović, another wartime resistance hero who wanted to retain the monarchy.

Although Tito was regarded as the second most powerful communist leader in Europe after Stalin, he proved to be stubbornly independent of Moscow. Since he was so popular in his own country and had liberated Yugoslavia with little Soviet intervention, Tito felt able to countermand Stalin's policies and advice. He stood up to the US in territorial disputes on the Italian border - even shooting down several US aircraft - and openly backed communists in the Greek Civil War, despite Stalin's demands that the West should not be provoked. Tito also pursued economic policies that diverged from the Soviets in several areas. Mistrust between Moscow and Belgrade was apparent as early 1945, when Stalin set up a spy ring in Yugoslavia, but the official break came in 1948, when Yugoslavia was expelled from Cominform due to its "nationalist elements".

Yugoslavia may have broken from Stalin and the USSR, but it did not completely escape archetypal communist paranoia. Between 1948 and 1956, Tito increased the repression of his opponents - not only by attacking anti-communists but also those who showed sympathy to the Soviet model. Prominent partisans who had saved the country during the war were executed. Tens of thousands of political prisoners were shipped to labour camps, many of whom died in the harsh conditions. Even Milovan Đjilas, a former Deputy Prime Minister and potential successor to Tito, was repeatedly arrested and imprisoned for criticising the Tito regime - although Đjilas was finally freed in 1966, when repressive measures began to be relaxed a little.

In order to straddle the uncomfortable position that he found himself in - stuck between two competing superpowers in the Cold War and not fully trusted by either - Tito proposed a third way. His Non-Aligned Movement, which was established in 1961, included several countries that were not part of the capitalist West or communist East: Egypt,

SUN, SEA AND SOCIALISM

Tito welcomes Western wealth

Tito's visa reforms of the 1960s did not just give Yugoslavians an opportunity to live and work over the border; it also gave Westerners a chance to peek behind the Iron Curtain. Tito realised that foreign tourism would create much-needed revenue and employment. Affluent tourists from the capitalist West were lured by package holidays with low prices – Tito deliberately devalued the Yugoslav dinar to make his country cheap to visit – and a chance to see a communist society for themselves.

Purpose-built resorts were constructed along the Adriatic coast, including in Dubrovnik, Pula and Split. Planners even worked out the most efficient use of available space: one metre of beach per 1.66 tourists.

Yet these were more than fly-and-flop beach holidays. Yugoslavian operators encouraged holidaymakers to join excursions inland to visit cultural sites and, Tito hoped, help regenerate the local economy. Yugoslav cuisine introduced new tastes to the British palate for the first time. By the end of the 1980s, before civil war decimated the tourist industry, Yugoslavia was the second most popular overseas holiday destination for UK holidaymakers and Yugotours was the fourth largest travel agent. For a generation of Brits Tito's Yugoslavia was known for summer sun rather than socialism.

Yugoslavia was not just a destination for Brits - Brela was a popular choice among West German tourists

As a non-aligned communist Tito could travel where others couldn't, including this 1971 trip to Richard Nixon's White House

Tito's communist ideology was influenced by Moša Pijade, who he first encountered in Lepoglava Prison

Tito and Khrushchev met several times, but the uneasy relationship between Yugoslavia and the USSR continued after Stalin's death

Tito's funeral was attended by more state delegations than any other prior to that of Pope John Paul II

Ghana, India and Indonesia were the major players alongside Tito's Yugoslavia.

Tito was able to successfully walk the non-aligned tightrope. Yugoslavia avoided military conflict throughout the Cold War period and non-aligned status allowed Tito to accept financial aid from both the West (via the Marshall Plan) and the East (via Comecon). Yugoslav businesses, which were owned by the state but collectively managed by the employees themselves, were also able to export to both sides. The constant threat of rampant unemployment was solved by easing visa restrictions in 1967, allowing young Yugoslavs to move to the west in search of work. By the 1970s, over 1 million Yugoslavs – which equated to around 20 per cent of the working age population – were employed abroad.

However, Tito's economic policies did not create a socialist utopia. The self-management system encouraged wage-price inflation and the slow rundown of capital, storing up problems for the future. Tito ran up foreign debts at an unsustainable level, meaning that further loans were required to pay the interest of existing ones, plunging the country deeper into an ever-growing abyss. The Yugoslav economy was creaking under the strain and a major crisis was inevitable – it was just a matter of when it would happen.

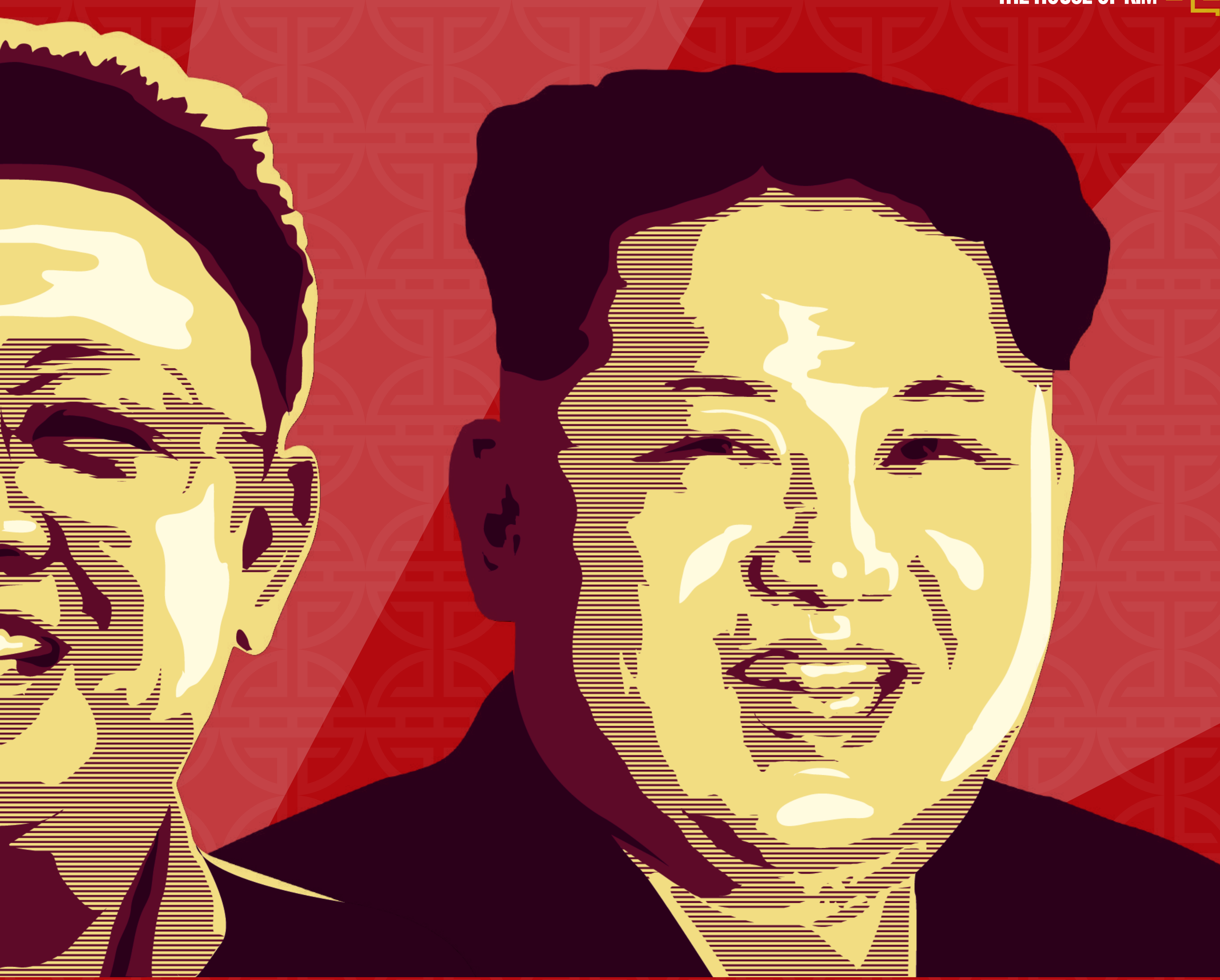
By the late 1970s, Tito's health was also failing. He died in May 1980, three days short of his 88th birthday. His funeral drew leaders from across the world and from both sides of the Cold War divide. They mourned the loss of a dictator who had straddled the Iron Curtain and who had stood aside from the excesses of the Stalinist regime and the Soviet Union. His personal popularity, stemming from his role as liberator in the Second World War, held together a country that was an uneasy mix of several ethnic groups who were often at loggerheads.

Nevertheless, Tito's Yugoslavia was still a police state in which he wielded an iron fist against many political opponents and in which human rights were given scant regard. Ethnic nationalist movements surged after his death, further provoked by the economic crash that had been stored up under Tito finally being unleashed. The republics descended into political conflict and, ultimately, a series of violent wars that featured mass rape and genocide. The country that Tito had ruled for 35 years lasted little more than a decade after his death.

Several places are still named after Tito in the former Yugoslavia, although some would like them to be renamed

The HOUSE of KIM

In its 70 years of existence, the reclusive dictatorship of North Korea has had only three leaders – all from the same family



WRITTEN BY: **PAUL FRENCH**

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), or simply North Korea, was founded in 1948 as a communist state and sponsored by the Soviet Union, who controlled the northern portion of the Korean peninsula after World War II. The American-controlled south saw the formation of the Republic of Korea.

The North, seeking to unify Korea under a one-party Marxist-Leninist government, invaded the South in June 1950. A brutal fratricidal war between the North and South waged for three years until an eventual armistice was achieved, though the war between the Koreas never officially ended. Instead, the peninsula was divided in half by a 250-kilometre (160-mile) long Demilitarised Zone (DMZ). Despite its name, both sides of the DMZ are heavily fortified and the no-man's-land is laden with landmines.

Since then, the North has retreated into total isolation. Its prewar premier, Kim Il-sung, developed a cult of personality as he consolidated his power for himself and his family, effectively establishing what has become the world's only communist monarchy. Officially, Kim Il-sung is the eternal president of the country, but when he died nearly 25 years ago, the crown passed to his son, Kim 'Dear Leader' Jong-il. In turn, Jong-il's son, Kim Jong-un, has ruled the rogue state since 2016. The Kim family controls most aspects of life in the North with top jobs in the ruling Korean Workers' Party, running the economy and leading the army. Now North Korea says it has developed nuclear weapons, it will undoubtedly be a Kim who has their finger on the button.

Though the official propaganda may portray the family and its three Supreme Leaders in a glowing light, the Kim dynasty and its two successions have been built on rumours and lies, while their consolidations have seen bitter and deadly battles erupt, leaving a trail of bodies that continues to this day.

Kim Il-sung: The Eternal President

The obfuscation over the origins and true biographies of the Kim dynasty begin with its founder, Kim Il-sung. Most agree on his birthday, 15 April 1912 (coincidentally the day the Titanic sank), and it is now an annual public holiday in the DPRK, known as the Day of the Sun because 'Il-sung' translates to 'become the sun'. But how did this man rise to become the North's immortal leader of a totalitarian system so all-encompassing that his son and grandson have gone on to take charge of North Korea's 26 million people seemingly – to the North Korean people, at least – without contest?

Kim Il-sung's origin myth lies deep in the forests of Manchuria close to the Chinese border. A year before he was born, Japan had colonised all of Korea and later, in 1932, annexed Manchuria as a colony, too. Indeed, Il-sung largely grew up in Manchuria in what is today's Chinese Jilin province. His family was part of the anti-Japanese resistance, but not the humble peasants of later myth – they were skilled pharmacists. During the Second Sino-Japanese War, which began in 1937, Il-sung led a band of possibly as many as 200 Korean resistance fighters. Though of course later lionised as heroic fighters, it seems they actually spent most of the war isolated and living off the land as best they could.

In December 1941, China became part of the much greater Allied war effort as the Americans and Soviets joined the battle against Japan. This was to change Il-sung's fortunes as his motley band of ill-trained rebels was absorbed into far more highly trained, equipped and politically educated Soviet Red Army partisan training camps. Here, he met a fellow guerrilla and Korean anti-Japanese activist Kim Jong-suk. They married and had two sons – the eldest, Kim Jong-il, was born in 1941, though the fact of his birth being in either China or the Soviet Union is never officially mentioned in the North's propaganda.

His time spent working with the Red Army, organising regular hit-and-run raids against Japanese forces, was key to Il-sung's political development. He became a close student of Soviet communism, particularly of Stalinism, and moved from being an anti-colonial freedom fighter to a hardcore communist.

He also applied the outlook and tactics of the guerrilla fighter to all his endeavours – not just fighting the Japanese, but also in how he began to organise for an independent, socialist Korea. Il-sung was such a good student of communism, that Lavrentiy Beria, Deputy Premier of the Soviet Union, recommended that he be their proxy in Korea. The Hot War was ending and the Cold War about to begin – the Russians were determined that their chosen man would be the post-war leader of a unified Korea and ensure the Americans had no influence on the peninsula.

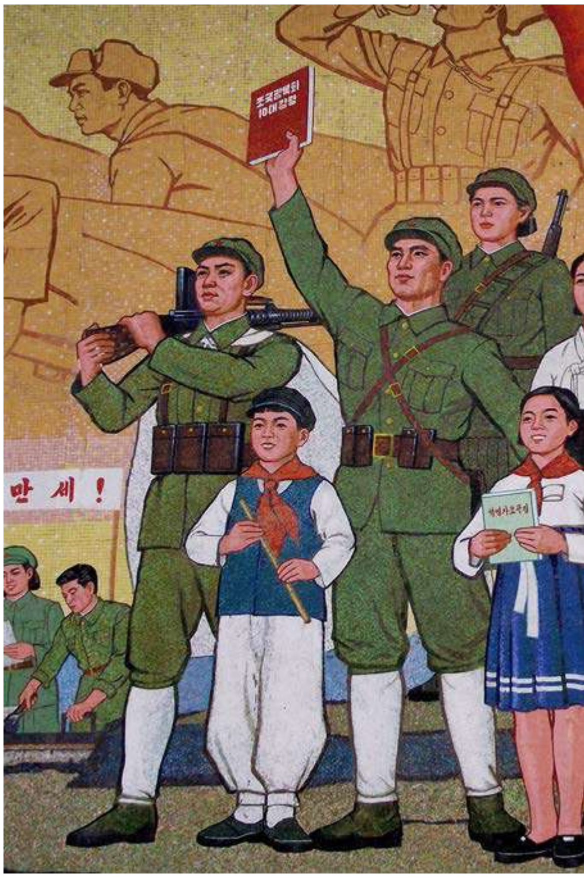
In 1945, the Japanese surrendered and Korea was divided into Soviet and American controlled halves. The North, under Kim Il-sung but with guidance and permission from Moscow, launched an attack on the South in 1950 and three bitter years of war followed until the armistice and the formal division of the peninsula. Retreating into his new domain – north of the 38th parallel and south of the Yalu River border with China – Il-sung got to work on his two most immediate tasks: destroying his enemies within the fledgling DPRK and building his own personality cult. Both activities were to become family businesses.

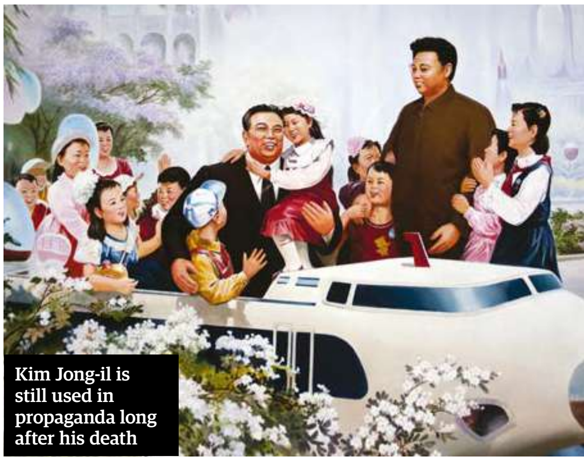
Il-sung quickly turned his attention to consolidation – for a Supreme Leader to be truly supreme there could be no opposition. With help from Moscow, he immediately organised Soviet-style show trials for anyone who challenged him for leadership of the North and those who had been guerrilla fighters in the war. Il-sung had to be the only leader, the undisputed anti-Japanese fighter and uncontested head of the Workers' Party. It was a time of dictators – even though Stalin was recently dead in neighbouring Russia, Chairman Mao was assembling his own personality cult in China, too.

Il-sung fostered a cult of personality around himself

But Kim saw himself as greater than Mao or any Soviet leader. He refused to subordinate himself to either the Soviet Union or the newly founded People's Republic of China. He forged his own third way and created his own variant on Marxism – Juche theory – with himself as the only theoretician.

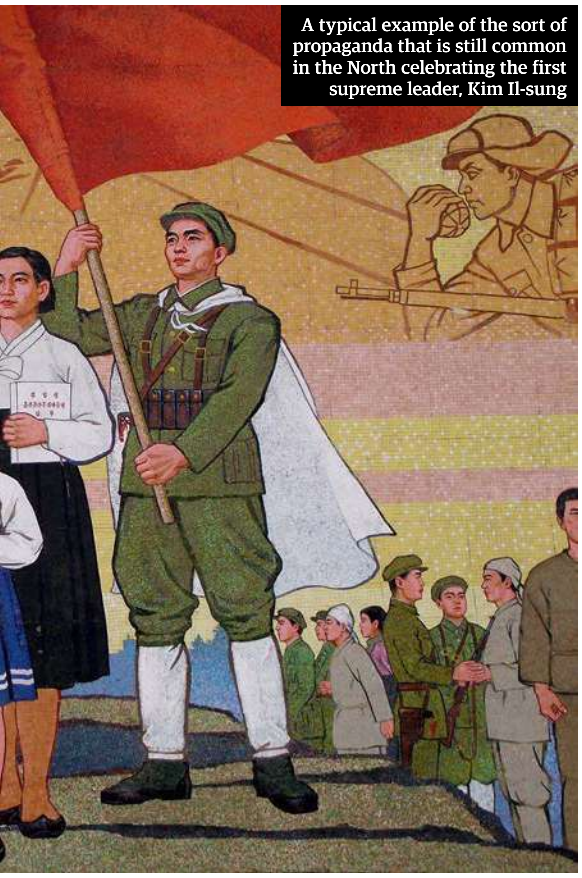
Juche combined Leninism with a little Maoism, a dose of Confucianism and some traditional Korean philosophy all thrown into the ideological pot. Marxism may have positioned him on the red side of the Cold War, but it was the Confucian

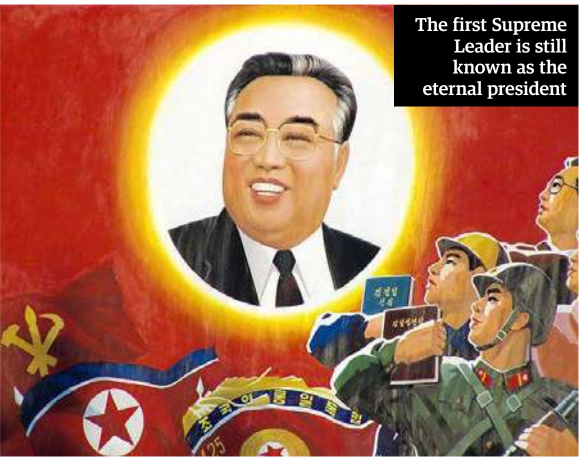



Kim Jong-il is still used in propaganda long after his death

elements of Juche that laid the groundwork for his communist monarchy. Confucianism advocated filial piety towards the father and the family – in the DPRK's case, towards the father of the nation and the first family of the one-party state: Il-sung and the Kim clan.

The Supreme Leader was in total charge of the country, his enemies slain, those who knew his true origins purged. The economy might be collapsing and the people starving, but he smiled upon them with benevolence with his eldest son at his side.


A typical example of the sort of propaganda that is still common in the North celebrating the first supreme leader, Kim Il-sung


The first Supreme Leader is still known as the eternal president

The least free state on Earth

Possession of unauthorised information from outside the country

Being found with anything from outside the DPRK, like DVDs, books, magazines and USB sticks of TV programmes, carries harsh punishments, including imprisonment. South Korean materials are the most closely monitored.

Escaping and seeking refuge overseas

It is a crime to try to leave the country and seek refuge elsewhere. Punishments fluctuate but have included execution at times. Most refugees flee across the Yalu River to China hoping to eventually get to South Korea.

Organised political opposition is banned

All organised political opposition is outlawed, including all alternative political parties, any factions within the ruling Korean Workers' Party or even ad hoc movements.

Independent media is illegal

Pyongyang retains complete control of the media – TV, radio, newspapers and all publications, as well as the highly limited internet access a few high-ranking people are allowed.

No independent free trade unions

As with China next door, all trade unions in the DPRK are state sanctioned and under the control of the Workers' Party. This, the leadership hopes, will stop any version of Poland's Solidarity movement in North Korea.

No unauthorised free market activities

Except for a few occasional highly regulated farmers' markets that come and go, all free market activities – such as the buying and selling of food, clothing, cars or property – are banned.

No religious freedom

Though the state has created 'Potemkin' churches to show visitors, in reality there is no religious freedom whatsoever in North Korea according to Human Rights Watch.

The songbun system

This system affects everyone's employment, residence and schooling, as it is the country's socio-political classification scheme that groups people into loyal, wavering or hostile classes. Climbing up the social ladder is almost unheard of.

Kim Jong-il: The Dear Leader

The year 1994 was perhaps the worst for North Koreans since the founding of their nation 45 years previously. The country was ravaged by a tragic famine (the result of a disastrous communist planning system), they were feeling the effects of the now dissolved Soviet Union's 'fraternal aid' being cut off, and, Kim Il-sung, father of the nation, died.

For the first time, Western observers saw the mass outpourings of grief that have become such a hallmark of the subsequent deaths of senior leaders in the North. The entire country – much of it starving and economically on its knees – went into an official Confucian three-year period of national mourning.

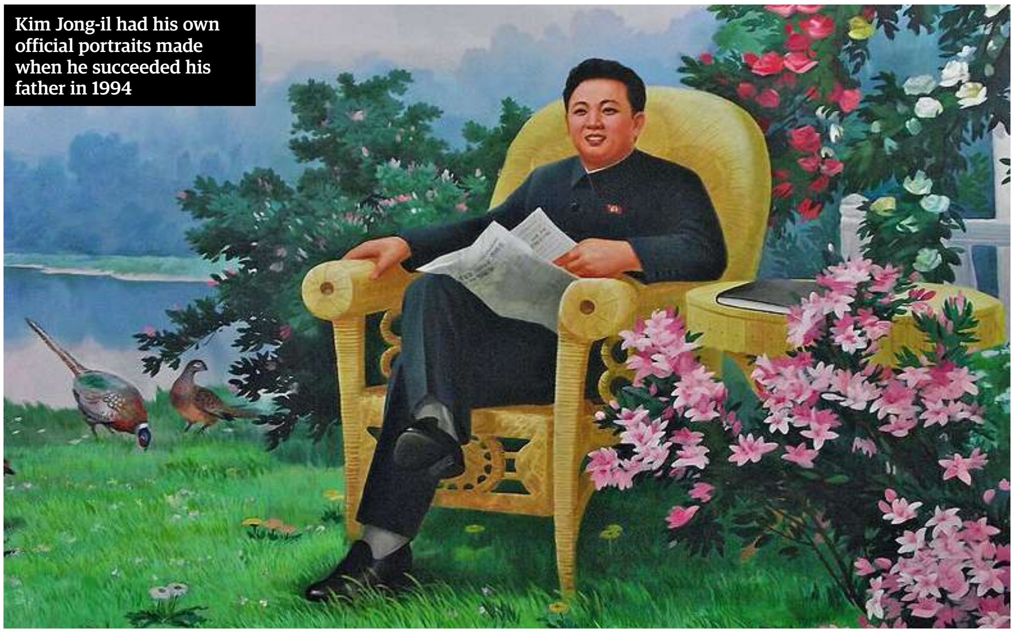
During that time, and as expected, Kim Jong-il was declared the 'Dear Leader', charged with following in his father's footsteps. So great were those footsteps that Jong-il was declared the North's number two leader and the deceased Il-sung, now entombed and embalmed in a giant mausoleum in the centre of Pyongyang, was named 'eternal president' – forever the DPRK's Supreme Leader.

Once Il-sung had declared his eldest son as his heir in the 1980s, the personality cult machinery went into full swing and soon there wasn't a single North Korean citizen who did not know Jong-il's official origin story. He was reputedly born on Mount Paektu, Korea's highest and most sacred mountain. As he came into the world, a new star appeared in the sky, a double rainbow appeared, an iceberg on a nearby lake cracked, strange lights filled the sky and a swallow passed by overhead to pass the news of his birth on to the world. The legend went on that a young Jong-il remained by his father's side until the Japanese were defeated, finally expelled from Korea and Pyongyang liberated for a bright, new communist future.

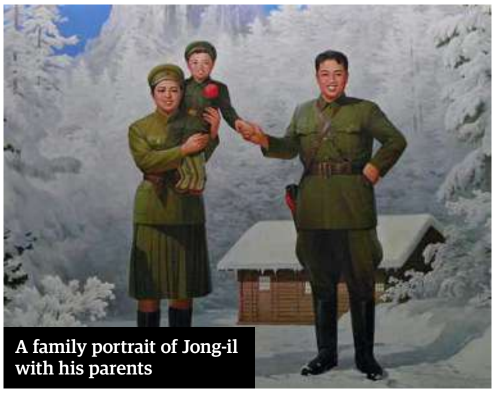
In fact, Jong-il was born in a guerrilla camp and no strange meteorological or astronomical incidents were reported. His younger brother drowned in 1947 in a swimming pool accident and many have long believed that the older boy pushed the younger under the water and held him down, but evidence of this is unfounded.

Though Kim's official origin may sound comically bizarre to those outside of the country, it makes more sense in the context of the Korean tradition of deploying mythology as a tool to perpetuate tradition and inspire the population. The story is allegory and is probably understood as such by most ordinary North Koreans, even though it served to raise the stature of Jong-il and perpetuate the personality cult that came to surround him and his family.

Despite the propaganda, Jong-il's reign wasn't guaranteed. The North Korean Army's leadership thought him weak – not a soldier like his father. However, Jong-il had proved he was suitably blood thirsty early on. As a senior official under his father, Jong-il is thought to have ordered the 1983 bombing in Rangoon that killed 17 visiting South Korean officials. Additionally, some high-level defectors have claimed that he ordered the 1987 shooting down of a South Korean airliner that killed all 115 passengers on board.



Kim Jong-il had his own official portraits made when he succeeded his father in 1994



A family portrait of Jong-il with his parents

"YOU WILL DROWN IN A SEA OF FLAMES"

The North likes to issue dramatic threats, and has done so regularly throughout its seven decades of existence

Blue House Raid
21 January 1968
This was an attempt by North Korean commandos to assassinate the South Korean president, Park Chung-hee, in his residence, the Blue House in Seoul. It is thought the attack was in response to Park's support of the US in the Vietnam War. 26 South Koreans were killed.

Pueblo incident
23 January 1968
Although outside North Korean waters, USS Pueblo was seized by the North Korean Navy. All 83 crewmembers were captured and one killed, creating a diplomatic incident. The ship remains moored on Pyongyang's Taedong River as a tourist attraction.

Discovery of incursion tunnels
15 November 1974
South Korean and American forces at the DMZ were shocked to discover four tunnels crossing the zone that had been dug by North Korea. The tunnels were 91 by 121 centimetres, reinforced with concrete and had electric lighting.

The axe murder incident
18 August 1976
US Army officers were cutting down trees in the DMZ when they were attacked by DPRK soldiers. Two Americans were killed by the North Koreans, who oddly claimed that Kim Il-sung had planted the trees.

Korean Air Flight 858
29 November 1987
Korean Air Flight 858 was a scheduled international passenger flight between Baghdad and Seoul that exploded in mid-air upon the detonation of a bomb planted inside an overhead storage bin by North Korean agents. It was the 34th anniversary of the end of the Korea War, and the attack is thought to have been masterminded by Kim Jong-il himself to derail unification talks.

North Korea's first nuclear test
9 October 2006
Despite the 'Sunshine Policy' from South Korea to defuse tensions on the peninsula and six-party talks involving the North with the South, China, Russia, Japan and the US to seek dialogue, the DPRK exploded a nuclear bomb in direct contravention of international treaties.

Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il are still everywhere in North Korea

Jong-il (bottom left) with his family

The Koreans have a proverb: 'Tiger father, dog son'. It was thought to be whispered by some army officers alongside rumours of Jong-il's legendary louche life of massive French Cognac consumption, Hollywood movies and mistresses. Most of those army officers were purged. He also put on more show trials and sentenced executions in the style of his father's reign.

The so-called Dear Leader secured total power. Across the country, statues and posters went up showing the two rulers together and North Koreans pinned the ubiquitous lapel badges featuring the father and son to their clothes – to lose or forget to wear one became a crime. The king and the prince were on every classroom wall, subway carriage, jacket and street poster.

Jong-il had one more plan to consolidate power and ensure no rivals in the army ever rose up and contemplated a coup: nuclear weapons. He tore up every arms control agreement his father had signed and restarted the North's nuclear weapons development programme.

Billions of won (North Korea's currency) were devoted to the project while the country remained hungry in the North's desperate countryside, and power blackouts became more and more common in even privileged Pyongyang. But nukes could give Jong-il total power; they were weapons of mass destruction that he would control and ones that could subordinate the conventional armed forces. The Dear Leader, with his finger on the button, was arguably the deadliest man in the world.

There may be many exaggerations about Kim Jong-il's life, but his fondness for mistresses was a fact. He had a son in 1971, Kim Jong-nam, with Song Hye-rim, a leading North Korean movie actress and beauty. He also had two more sons, Kim Jong-chul in 1981 and Kim Jong-un in 1984, with Ko Yong-hui. Other mistresses followed before he finally married Kim Young-sook, the daughter of a high-ranking Workers' Party leader and Kim clan loyalist.

As was the ancient Korean imperial tradition, the three sons and heirs were brought up separately, rarely – if ever – meeting, and then only at state occasions for a matter of moments. Yet, as Kim Jong-il increasingly became a sick and dying man, it was to be the battle between these three siblings that would almost destroy the monarchy created by his father and lead to exile, feuding and, perhaps, fratricidal murder.

SHAKIER THAN YOU MIGHT THINK

The Kim dynasty projects an aura of total control, but there have been challenges…

The rumours over the years are varied: bodyguards-turned-assassins, army generals starting coups and fratricidal in-fighting. But they have largely been just that – rumours.

After the cessation of hostilities in 1953, Kim Il-sung showed he learned from Stalin by holding a show trial for a dozen party officials accused of aiding the Japanese and plotting to replace him. All 12 were found guilty and executed. Whether there was any truth to their collaboration with the Japanese is questionable. A year later the former leader of the Korean Communist Party in the South moved to the DPRK. He was deemed a possible challenger. A Moscow-style show trial was staged and he, too, was executed.

Rumours continued to swirl. In the late 1960s, China claimed that Kim Il-sung had been arrested by coup-plotting army generals – it wasn't true. In 1970, several senior army commanders were again purged for opposing the Supreme Leader's policies, while there have long been rumours of a coup attempt in 1992 by Moscow-trained soldiers.

Kim Jong-il has faced challenges, too. Stories circulated of a planned coup by army units in the famine-stricken northeast region in 1995. In 1998, a shoot-out between police and soldiers led to a curfew in Pyongyang in what, it is assumed, was a direct challenge to Jong-il's rule.

Coups fomented from outside are rumoured, too. The George W Bush administration always refused to rule out a pre-emptive strike on the North, while the Pentagon's 'Operational Plan 5030' was designed to use South Korea and American troop operations to diminish the DPRK's resources, wear down their military and promote a coup attempt. But it was never put into action.

And now one more rumour. After purging and executing his own uncle, Kim Jong-un was faced with a possible coup led by his exiled half-brother, Jong-nam. That attempt perhaps ended in Kuala Lumpur International Airport in February.

The sinking of ROKS Cheonan

26 March 2010

This is perhaps the closest the North and South have come to renewed war. The South Korean warship ROKS Cheonan was sunk by an explosion thought to be from the North, though Pyongyang denied it. 104 crewmembers were killed or injured and there were demonstrations of anger and grief in Seoul.

Yeonpyeong Island firefights

23 November 2010

With tensions still high after the ROKS Cheonan sinking, the North deliberately fired at the South-controlled Yeonpyeong Island, killing two South Korean soldiers and two civilians. The South returned fire, killing ten DPRK soldiers. The South evacuated the island for the islanders' own safety.

Drone wars

24 March 2014

The South accused North Korea of flying drones close to the Blue House in Seoul. DPRK drones were shot down at sea, close to the South's capital, and flying across the DMZ to spy on South Korean and American military installations.

DMZ landmines

4 August 2015

Confirmation that the DPRK was planting additional and highly explosive landmines in the DMZ came with the wounding of two South Korean soldiers who stepped on mines. The North denied planting them.

Yeoncheon missile attacks

20 August 2015

In a highly provocative attack, the DPRK fired conventional missiles at the southern city of Yeoncheon, home to 46,000 people. Citizens were evacuated into specially built bunkers, and South Korean artillery fired several times back into the DPRK. High-level talks were convened immediately to de-escalate the tension, though the North failed to explain why they acted as they did.

Anti-ship missiles unveiled

8 June 2017

After several rounds of missile tests that provoked the US 7th Fleet to approach the DPRK's coast, the North fired anti-ship missiles into the Sea of Japan. Pyongyang was particularly unhappy about the US deployment of the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense anti-ballistic missile shield around Seoul.

Enjoying the good life in a bad country

While the general population struggles to survive, the North Korean leaders indulge on Western luxuries

$720,000 a year in Cognac

Kim Jong-il was a legendary consumer of Hennessy Paradis Cognac and the brand's largest private buyer

At least a dozen Harleys

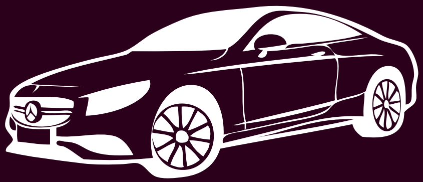
Kim Jong-il, and now reportedly his son, Kim Jong-un, have had a long fascination with Harley Davidson motorbikes, although they can only ride them in their high-security compounds

4 packs of Rothmans a day

Kim Jong-il reputedly smoked four packs of imported Rothmans cigarettes a day before publicly quitting. His son, though, is a confirmed smoker, but he smokes a more patriotic copycat version of Rothmans called Paektusan

20 jet skis

Kim Jong-un enjoys jet skiing with his close associates. He is thought to have at least 20 jet skis that he rides around one of his private artificial lakes



one Mercedes

Kim Jong-un only has one personal Merc, but it's a limited edition Mercedes-Benz 600 luxury sedan

Nine white Orlov trotter horses

Kim Jong-un has nine rare white Orlov trotter horses procured from a from a stud farm in Siberia

20,000 movies in his library

Kim Jong-il allowed one channel of TV and no foreign films in his country, yet had a private video library of 20,000 Rambo, James Bond, kung fu and horror movies

Kim Jong-un:

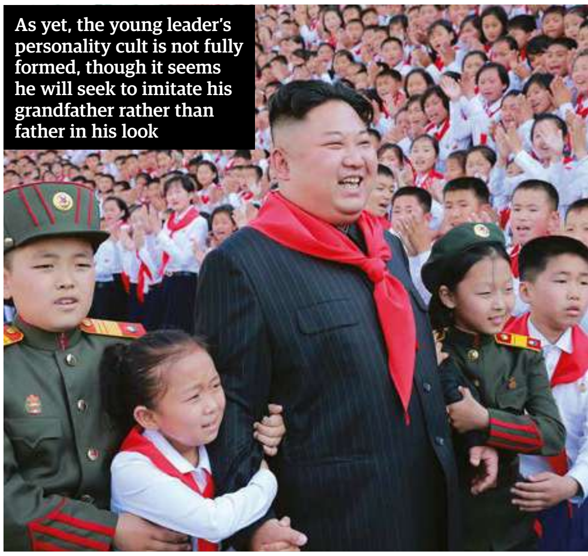
It was never intended, at least not by Kim Jong-il, that his youngest son, Jong-un, would ever rule the DPRK. From the late 1990s, the Dear Leader determined that his eldest Jong-nam, regardless of being born out of wedlock, should continue the Kim dynasty and control North Korea some day. But that decision was taken without considering Jong-nam's suitability or what Jong-il's wife thought of his mistress' child taking the leadership from her own sons. What happened next really does deserve the much-overused epithet of 'Shakespearean'.

In 2001, Jong-nam took his son and mistress to Japan. It was a foolhardy trip – not only is Japan a sworn enemy of the DPRK, but the man touted to be the next leader of the world's most hardline communist state was going to visit an icon of capitalist decadence, Tokyo Disneyland. And all on fake Dominican Republic passports.

He was caught at the airport by Japanese passport control officials. His father was so embarrassed that he cancelled a long-planned trip to the DPRK's only ally, China. Jong-nam was officially in disgrace. He had forfeited the role of heir to the throne and was cast out into exile, moving to anonymity in Macao.

There are those who believe that Jong-il's wife and the DPRK's 'Supreme Mother', Young-sook, was behind Jong-nam's apprehension at Tokyo's Narita Airport. She did not want the offspring of a mistress to usurp her eldest son, and so Jong-chul became the heir apparent, groomed to be leader, seen at his father's side and with Young-sook beaming wide.

But something went wrong and Jong-chul was sidelined. Some said his father thought he lacked the necessary ruthlessness to be a dictator, others that Young-sook had always seen her youngest but most beloved son, Jong-un, as the



As yet, the young leader's personality cult is not fully formed, though it seems he will seek to imitate his grandfather rather than father in his look

The Supreme Leader

Pyongyang residents take part in a rally commemorating the Korean War

Crowds in Pyongyang watch a TV screen showing their new Supreme Leader Kim Jong-un at a Central Committee Meeting

Kim Jong-un oversees a drill of the Korean People's Army

heir. Jong-chul disappeared from the headlines in Pyongyang, his picture stopped appearing and suddenly, beside his now visibly ailing father, was a young man, barely in his 20s – Kim Jong-un.

His years of debauchery finally caught up with him, and Kim Jong-il died in December 2011. Briefly, out of public view, the three brothers paid their respects to their father at the enormous mausoleum where he was enbalmed and placed alongside the eternal president, Kim Il-sung, at the Kumsusan Palace of the Sun in central Pyongyang. Jong-nam came back from exile in Macao under Beijing's protection, Jong-chul from internal exile (having recently been seen in Singapore at an Eric Clapton concert), and they stood alongside the new Supreme Leader, 28-year-old Kim Jong-un. They were together for a matter of moments and then Jong-chul disappeared back into his Pyongyang home and Jong-nam flew back to Macao.

The world underestimated Jong-un. He was ridiculed overseas for being too young, too inexperienced and a playboy like his father, who seemed to prefer hob-knobbing with minor basketball celebrities and good living to turning around an ailing economy and isolated country. But Jong-un surprised everyone. Not only has he accelerated the nuclear programme and edged ever closer to a deliverable missile, but he has also managed to slightly rejuvenate the country's economy, too. Alongside all this, he has proved to any who have doubted them his hard man credentials. Arguably, of the three Supreme Leaders of the DPRK, it is Kim Jong-un who has been the most ruthless.

Political purging is now an established tactic of regime survival for the Kim clan, but Jong-un has taken it to new levels of barbarity. Within three years of his rule, he initiated the purging of at least 70 senior officials. And if anyone questioned that he was truly a supreme leader, he shocked even ordinary North Koreans (usually given only the most opaque news of what is happening at the centre) by publicly, on prime time television in the DPRK, having his own uncle and one-time close mentor, arrested.

Jang Song-thaek, the number two leader of North Korea, was arguably the leading male role model in Jong-un's early life, given his own father's distance. But in the end this didn't save him – Jang was accused of treachery and plotting a coup. He endured a show trial and was then summarily executed.

Jang's execution appeared to be the final consolidation of Supreme Leader Kim Jong-un's total power. But perhaps there was one piece of unfinished business that nagged at him, a source of potential opposition, a problem from long ago that could become an issue tomorrow – his disgraced and exiled half-brother, Kim Jong-nam. In February 2017, Jong-nam visited Kuala Lumpur and spent several days there, though it is unclear who he met. He then went to the city's airport to catch a flight back to Macao.

In the departures terminal, two women threw a poisoned towel over his face and killed him. They were caught but knew nothing. A number of North Korean men wanted by Malaysian police disappeared; the DPRK's embassy denied everything and sought to recover Jong-nam's body before an autopsy could be performed. It is very likely that, despite ongoing trials in Kuala Lumpur, nothing will ever be conclusively proved. But if there was anyone who could lead a coup against Jong-un, it was Jong-nam. That option is now gone and Kim Jong-un rules truly supreme.

But what happens next is less clear than ever. Jong-un is 36, married to Ri Sol-ju, the daughter of close Kim dynasty associates, and they are believed – though it has never been formally confirmed – to have had a daughter in 2012 or 2013. Add to the mix the nuclear sabre-rattling and the line of Kim succession - and the future of the DPRK - is far from certain.

MILITARY

When soldiers use the army to take power from politicians

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Pinochet's coup against his former ally Salvador Allende was simply the start

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PINOCHET

WRITTEN BY: **JOANNA ELPHICK**

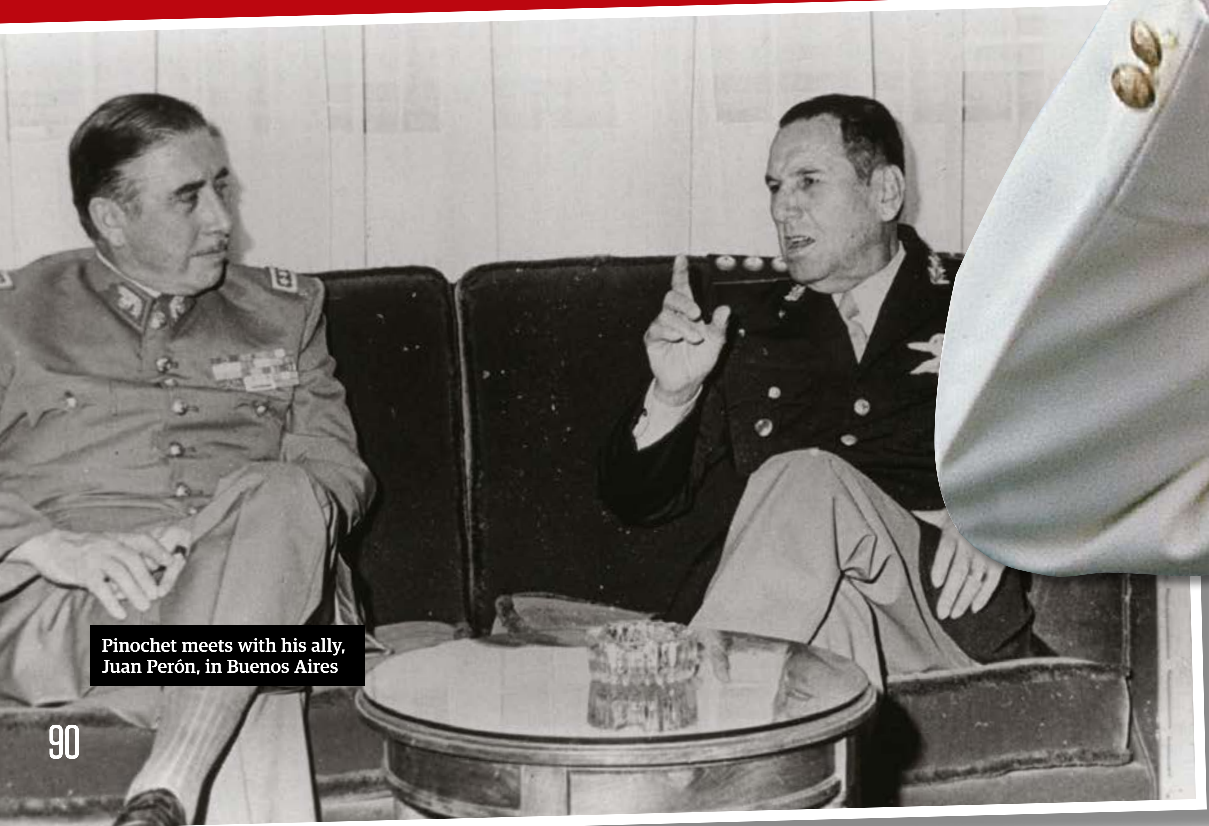
Augusto Pinochet staged a coup against his old friend, President Salvador Allende, to rule Chile with an iron fist

Augusto Pinochet, the future army General and eventually Chilean dictator, was born in 1915. He spent his early years in the seaside city of Valparaíso before entering Military School in Santiago at the age of 16. Army life suited the disciplined boy, and he worked his way up through the ranks from Second Lieutenant in the infantry to Officer Chief of Staff before becoming Commander of the Esmeralda Regiment. By 1971, at the age of 56, he was given the title General Commander of the Santiago Army Garrison.

With a good job, a loving wife and five children, Pinochet looked set for life. However, political trouble in his home nation of Chile was brewing. The Chamber of Deputies of Chile had passed a damning resolution claiming that the government, led by President Allende, had been flouting the Constitution. Allende desperately needed an ally, and Pinochet seemed to be it. He appointed Pinochet as commander-in-chief of the army in 1973 – but it proved to be a fatal choice for himself and thousands of his people.

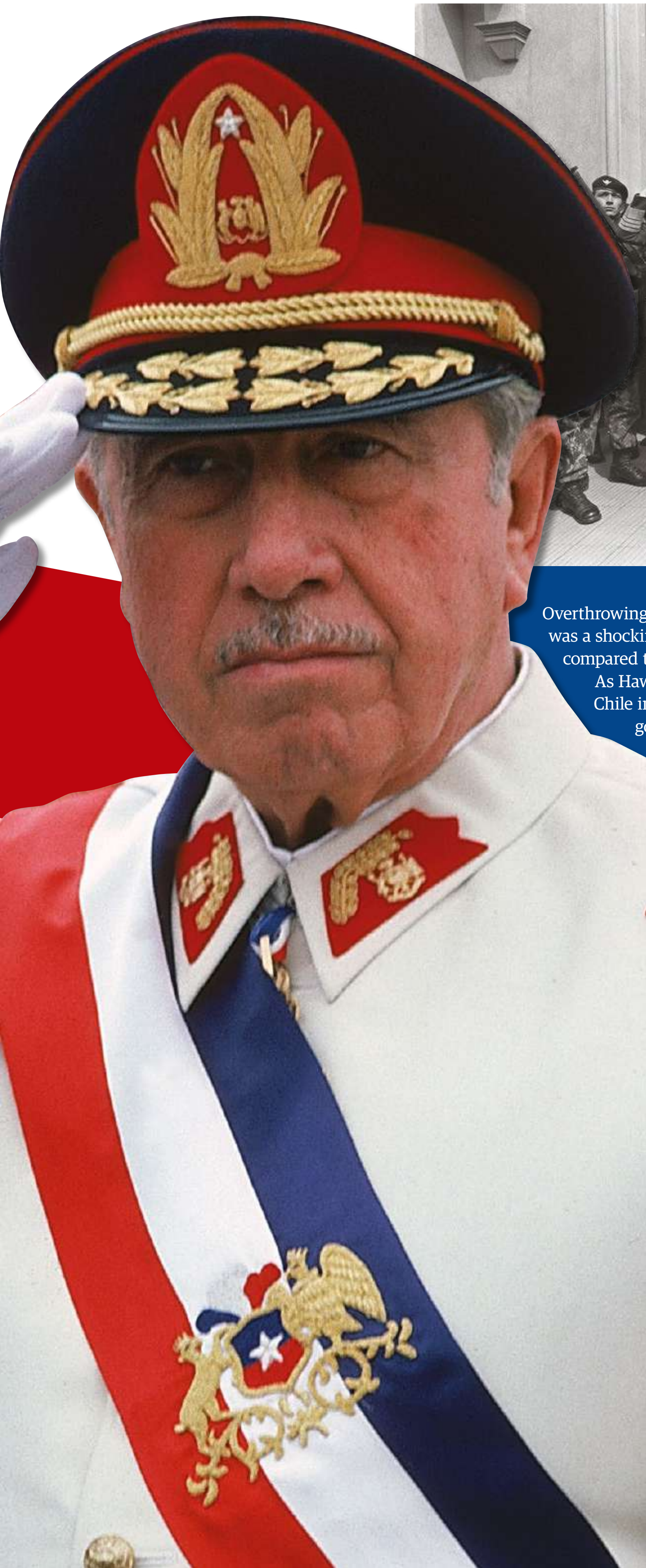
Just 18 days later the newly promoted Pinochet aligned himself with the Navy, the Carabineros (police) and the Air Force in order to depose Allende. It was a brutal and bloody coup that instigated a 17-year reign of assassinations, kidnappings and unrelenting torture.

However, Pinochet's level of involvement in the initial takeover has been disputed over the years. The man himself claimed to have been in charge from the very start, but other military figures argue that he merely supported the notion from a safe distance and only became fully involved at the very end. Either way, the social-climbing soldier ensured that he was at the forefront of the action when it came to taking control of the country.



Pinochet meets with his ally, Juan Perón, in Buenos Aires

Augusto Pinochet: soldier first, politician second



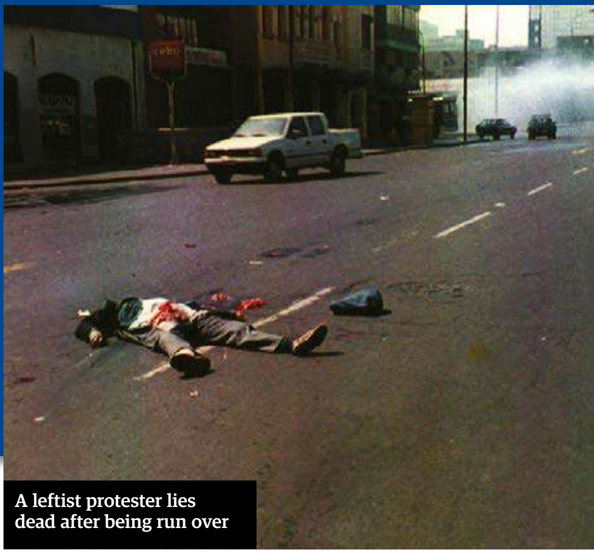
The military junta salutes after the coup in Santiago

Overthrowing a fairly elected government was a shocking move, but it was nothing compared to events that followed.

As Hawker Hunter jets flew over Chile in order to bomb the civilian government, a stubborn Allende barricaded himself in the Moneda, his presidential palace, refusing to leave the country and his people. He attempted to contact Pinochet in the vain hope that his prized head of the Army would save the day, not realising that Pinochet was really behind it all. In fact, he had already started closing down congress, the trade unions and any opposing judges. Those foolish enough to stand in his way were rounded up and placed in the nearby stadium. From there, many were summarily shot, while others were shipped out to concentration camps in the Atacama Desert or further afield in the Antarctic. During the assault on Moneda the deposed president was killed and his palace burnt to the ground. The official line was that Allende had committed suicide, but rumours of his murder were hard to extinguish.

While Pinochet strutted through the city declaring himself hero of the hour, it quickly became apparent that the seemingly effortless coup had not been orchestrated without considerable help from America. With complete approval from President Nixon, the CIA supported Pinochet and his cohorts in a variety of ways, ranging from financial deals and trade agreements to simply turning a blind eye whenever necessary. Having meddled in the destabilisation of Allende's government and its economic structure, the US also privately offered financial support post-coup. To cover its tracks it publicly denounced the violent tactics Pinochet had used.

Pinochet greets his young followers on a walk through the city



A leftist protester lies dead after being run over

As the four-man military junta effectively dissolved into the 'Augusto Pinochet Show', ultimately establishing him as sole President of Chile, human rights and freedoms were systematically trampled into the ground. During his time as president, it was later established that his government killed at least 3,197 people and, under his cruel leadership, a further 29,000 individuals were tortured, all while he claimed to be guided by 'the spiritual force of God'.

Many of the high-profile murders ordered by Pinochet were carried out by the Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional, DINA for short, a terrifying secret police set up in 1974. Such assassinations occurred not only on Chilean soil, but also further afield beyond its borders. With the CIA's tacit approval DINA brazenly murdered Pinochet's enemies wherever they fled. But when a car bomb killed two people in broad daylight on the streets of Washington DC, its own soil, Americans were horrified.

One of Allende's former ambassadors, Orlando Letelier, had been a prominent Chilean exile living in the US after escaping persecution under Pinochet's rule. On 21 September 1976 Letelier, his assistant Michael Moffitt and Moffitt's wife, Ronni, were driving up Embassy Row when a bomb blew up their car - instantly killing Letelier and Ronni. It was the first case of state-sponsored international terrorism in DC, although proof of Pinochet's involvement would not be forthcoming until the year 2015. It seemed that America still loathed to create trouble for the Chilean dictator, despite all his crimes, since a Cold War ally was still a valuable asset to keep Communism at bay. Pinochet continued his violent campaign unchecked.

Under Pinochet's authority DINA led the now-infamous Operation Condor in which many prominent left-wing politicians all over the world were kidnapped, tortured and ultimately murdered. Other lesser known activists were similarly treated, leading to over 60,000 deaths. Condor went even further, and helped to link all South American military-based dictatorships against their political opponents in order to eradicate any communist or socialist influences on the continent.

The operations chief of DINA, Major Bravo, was also a member of Pinochet's ghastly death squad - ominously known as the Caravan of Death. Flying by helicopter from the south to north of Chile, the death squad carried out at least 97 executions on the orders of their president, burying their bodies in mass unmarked graves. Gruesome eyewitness accounts described the corpses as being torn to pieces with eyes gouged out and jaws broken.

In 1980 Pinochet organised a plebiscite to ratify a new constitution, thereby giving him even more power and another eight-year presidential run. Any form of opposition was quickly silenced, and the trade unions were banned outright. By now the Chilean dictator looked to be unstoppable - but even his power could not go on indefinitely, and the people could not be silenced forever. The initial backlash occurred shortly after the car bombing in Washington. The United Nations publicly condemned Pinochet while the US suspended all military support, leaving him more vulnerable than he had ever been before.

After mounting criticism of his dictatorial rule Pinochet finally succumbed to pressure to legalise other political parties in his country in 1987. The next year Pinochet went public and called for a referendum - asking Chileans whether he should stay in power for another ten years. The public answered with a resounding 'No' vote so, in 1990, Pinochet at last gave up the presidency. Chile was finally a democracy… almost.

Pinochet made sure he maintained his position as head of the army where he could still hold considerable power. Seven years later he took the role of Senator for life - this was then relinquished in 2002, apparently due to poor health. However,

A LIBRARY TO DIE FOR

Although he maintained a highly successful military career and achieved enormous power, Pinochet was insecure and thought that his opponents might consider him intellectually inferior and, as a result, he made it his mission to become intensely well-read. After his death curators of his belongings were staggered to discover an incredible private library, previously unheard of. Across his lifetime the dictator had gathered together over 55,000 books, worth an estimated $2,840,000, from around the world. He had initially started buying books from a number of bookshops in Santiago. As the collection grew he sought out texts from further afield, ordering military attaches to hunt out individual items from across the sea.

He added priceless letters and other unique documents to his collection, including an original letter from Bernado O'Higgins, the Chilean revolutionary leader who freed Chile from Spanish rule during the Chilean War of Independence. Other prized books included a first-edition copy of *Histórica relación del Reyno de Chile* from 1646. Such artefacts cost a fortune, but this was of little consequence to Pinochet, who plundered discretionary funds from the state. A selection of books and documents once belonging to José Manuel Balmaceda, the 11th president of Chile, was also discovered on the shelves of Pinochet's magnificent secret library.

Margaret Thatcher visits Pinochet whilst under house arrest

The pope begged Pinochet to step down during his visit

cynics claimed that this was merely a ploy to get out of facing the inevitable legal cases that were mounting against him.

Back in 1998 while visiting London, Pinochet was placed under house arrest via an international arrest warrant after Spain had requested his extradition due to breaches of human rights. By March 2000 he was released on medical grounds and given permission to return home. But further charges for kidnapping, torture and a wide variety of tax fraud allegations followed. Sadly he would never be judged for these crimes.

On 10 December 2006 Pinochet died of complications from a heart attack at a Santiago military hospital – giving no opportunity for his thousands of victims to bring him to justice. Chile's then-president, Michelle Bachelet, who had herself been tortured under his brutal regime, denied him the state funeral usually offered to former presidents. Reaction to his passing was mixed; some mourning the loss of their saviour, others spitting at the coffin.

> **"REACTION TO HIS PASSING WAS MIXED; SOME MOURNING THE LOSS OF THEIR SAVIOUR, OTHERS SPITTING AT THE COFFIN"**

It's easy to see why – Pinochet's legacy and impact on Chile was equally mixed. After all, to some he really was a hero. Pinochet had returned businesses and land to private ownership. Using his 'Chicago Boys', a group of economists who had been trained by Milton Friedman, he encouraged free-trade policies, the expansion of businesses and widespread speculation – his intention being to make Chile a world player.

His relationship with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher raised many eyebrows over the years, but without Pinochet's support the Falklands War may well have ended very differently. Although Chile remained officially neutral during the conflict, in reality the country offered military intelligence, radar surveillance and support in returning troops safely to British soil.

But those who view Pinochet as a patriot who saved his country from economic crisis and implemented new democratic principles fail to acknowledge the corruption and abhorrent human rights atrocities carried out in his name.

While he claimed to "love my fatherland above all", his one true passion was power and personal gain. Pinochet's loyal supporters may have argued that he made Chile's economy stronger than ever before, but what was his real motive? The discovery of his secret overseas accounts, hidden all over the world from America to Hong Kong, have highlighted the depth of his financial corruption. His personal fortune is still being unearthed – most recently, ten tons of gold worth in excess of $160 million – and yet by the end of Pinochet's reign approximately 44 per cent of Chilean families were living below the poverty line.

At the time of the Chilean coup Pinochet forced businessman Emile Vassallo to hand over his estate, including Villa Grimaldi, in order to set up a monstrous interrogation centre for his newly formed DINA. The extraordinary violence served to the 4,500 detainees included electric shock treatment, underwater asphyxiation, burnings, beatings and hangings, while others were forced to stand upright in the pitch black for days on end. Many had their heads forced into buckets of urine and excrement. At least 226 people were executed without a fair trial. Survivors were dressed in the clothes of those who had been executed before being released back onto the streets.

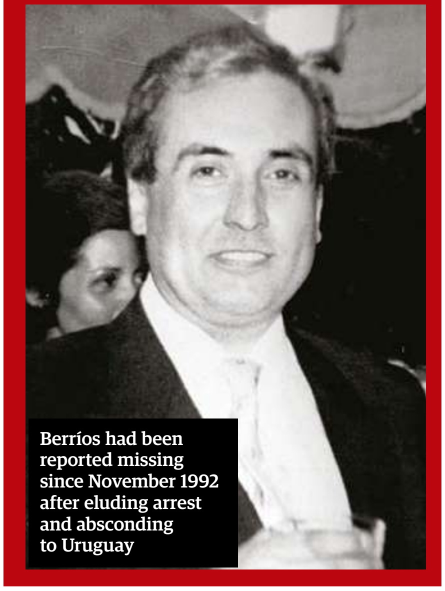
EUGENIO BERRÍOS

The murderous biochemist

Eugenio Berríos, also known as 'Agent Hermes', was a biochemist working under Pinochet within the Directorate of National Intelligence. As head of Project Andrea Berríos was ordered to mass produce sarin gas, a deadly chemical weapon that leaves no trace, so that DINA could carry out its assassinations undetected. During his time at the Bacteriological War Army Laboratory he also developed potent supplies of botulism, anthrax and various explosives. It was thought that one of his explosives was used in the manufacture of the car bomb used to assassinate Orlando Letelier.

It was also alleged that Berríos developed cocaine for Pinochet, known as 'Black Cocaine', who then sold the illegal substance across America and throughout Europe. Money from the drug trafficking was supposedly deposited in various bank accounts in Pinochet's name.

Berríos' sarin gas was used in a number of high-profile assassinations, including the murders of Chilean Army Corporal Manuel Leyton, Spanish diplomat Carmelo Soria and state archivist Renato León Zenteno. However, Berríos knew too much. He also knew Pinochet's loyalty could fade, and fled abroad. When the authorities finally indicted him Pinochet had him silenced forever. His badly disfigured body was discovered in April 1995 on a beach near Montevideo. Forensic dentists were called in to identify the corpse.



Berríos had been reported missing since November 1992 after eluding arrest and absconding to Uruguay

FROM COOK TO KILLER

IDI AMIN

While the global media could not be anything but intrigued by Idi Amin, his on-camera antics were hiding a dark truth about how he treated his people

WRITTEN BY: **DOMINIC EAMES**

To those around the world watching the news or reading papers about the regime in 1970s Uganda, its president Idi Amin would have come across as a bit of a clown. He joked around in interviews, played up to the cameras and staged events to make him appear outgoing and jovial, whether it be jumping into a swimming pool as photographers looked on or hosting parties where he regaled guests by squeezing out tunes on his accordion.

Sparkling in his pristine, medal-strewn uniform, sometimes boasting a kilt, the burly Amin delighted in being the gregarious character on the international stage. He gave himself many grandiose titles, including 'Lord of All the Beasts of the Earth and Fishes of the Sea', and enjoyed calling out other leaders with petty jibes and taunts. In one of his many telegrams to Elizabeth II he extended an invitation to "Liz" to come see him and meet a "real man".

But away from this media-courting persona there was a very different Amin. A sadistic megalomaniac, he would watch the torture and executions of his people at the hands of his death squads, occasionally taking part himself. Giving the 'VIP treatment' was his morbid euphemism for ordering someone's death. He kept photos of his mutilated victims as souvenirs, fed corpses to crocodiles, and was rumoured to have whetted his appetite with cannibalism.

No one was safe in Amin's Uganda, whether they were a lowly farmer or one of his inner circle. In his fridge he stored the decapitated heads of ministers who had fallen out of favour so he could inspire loyalty among his advisers. On a whim he kicked out everyone of Asian descent from the country, and to demonstrate his perverse commitment to Islam he turned on his former ally, Israel. In one message he expressed his admiration for Hitler's treatment of the Jews.

Amin was both buffoon and butcher. His actions were capricious yet calculated, and his behaviour was predictable in its unpredictability. He lit up in the spotlight yet hid the atrocities of his tyrannical regime in the darkness; he wanted Uganda to look after itself yet was responsible for destroying the nation's economy and murdering hundreds of thousands of its people. Such was the man that to this day older Ugandans are still recovering from his eight-year reign of terror while the younger generations praise him for his ardent nationalism.

Before his violent rise to President for Life Amin began his military career as an assistant cook in the King's African Rifles (KAR). Uganda had been a protectorate of the British Empire since the late 19th century, so the colonial army was a common occupation for poor young men like Idi Amin Dada. Born around 1925 to the Kakwa tribe, he had been left by his father to be raised by his mother, a traditional herbalist. As he did not receive much of

> "HE FED CORPSES TO CROCODILES AND WAS RUMOURED TO HAVE WHETTED HIS APPETITE WITH CANNIBALISM"

A suspected rebel officer is stripped and tied to a tree before his public execution

Idi Amin rose from an assistant cook to president for life

OBOTE: UGANDA'S OTHER DICTATOR

After escaping Uganda after the violent Amin's coup, Obote later returned to power after his successor had been deposed

While Idi Amin may get the headlines, Milton Obote also left a troubling legacy. As the first prime minister of an independent Uganda, he is remembered for his fight for economic and political freedom, but consolidating his power would be much more violent than independence. Under Obote, Ugandans were terrorised and tortured, the country suffered from food shortages and corruption was widespread. He became so loathed that Amin's coup in 1971 was cause for wild celebration in the country, and optimism worldwide.

Yet when Amin – who Obote called "the greatest brute an African mother has ever brought to life" – was overthrown, the former president pulled off a remarkable return. He won the vote to a second term in 1980, although in highly controversial circumstances as his opponents believed the election had been rigged. This led to a bloody civil war between Obote and the guerrilla National Resistance Army. With both sides guilty of atrocities, tens of thousands died and many more were displaced. Just as many people were killed during Obote's years in power than under Amin. On 27 July 1985 Obote was overthrown in a second coup, putting Yoweri Museveni in power, where he has been ever since.

The twice-president of Uganda, Milton Obote, was responsible for as many deaths as Idi Amin

A big smile on his face, Idi Amin plays his accordion

500,000 While estimates for the total number of people killed under Idi Amin vary, Amnesty International believe it may have been as high as 500,000.

an education the army seemed his best chance to make something of himself.

His service started in 1946 – though he would later claim erroneously that he had fought in Burma during World War II – and took him around Uganda as well as Somalia and Kenya, where he was among the troops to put down an uprising in the 1950s. Amin rose through the ranks until he became an Effendi, the highest possible position for a black African soldier under colonial rule.

At six foot four inches and with a brick-wall physique, Amin cut a powerful figure. He held the title of light heavyweight boxing champion in Uganda for nine years running and showed his considerable skills as a bruising rugby player. More than his stature, he possessed a magnetic charisma that drew people to him. This was used to great effect in his later seising of power.

By the early 1960s Uganda was moving towards independence from Britain, and this proved to be fortuitously timed for Amin. It saw him promoted as one of the first two Ugandan commissioned officers, and saved him from a court martial. After men under his command committed a massacre in the Turkana region of Kenya in 1962, calls were made for Amin, known for heavy-handed tactics and a seeming eagerness to use violence, to be charged. Tribesmen had been tortured and beaten to death, if not buried alive.

Yet Milton Obote, the first prime minister after independence, was not about to punish one of the only black officers. He sent Amin for officer training in Britain and then Israel to earn the parachutist wings he later wore so proudly on his uniform. That was despite failing the tests. When he returned to Uganda his career continued to advance thanks to his alliance with Obote, until he was building the army with himself at the top.

Soon the two men assumed complete control of the country. When, in 1965, they were accused of smuggling gold and ivory from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Obote suspended the national constitution and named himself president. He then sent Amin, now a Colonel and commander of the army, to quash the powerful kingdom of Buganda in the south of the country. In what Amin would ambitiously dub the Battle of Mengo Hill, his far-superior forces easily stormed the palace of Kabaka Mutesa II, known as King Freddie, and drove him into exile.

While Obote had consolidated his power, his reign over the rest of the decade was met with much resentment. His relationship with Amin fell apart, too, as Obote grew to doubt his loyalty. Amin was suspected of firming up his

24 Idi Amin was overthrown in 1979 and died without facing justice for the atrocities seen in his regime in 2003. That's 24 years in comfortable exile.

Idi Amin always took advantage of a good photo op

98

A complete loss of conservation efforts in Uganda, combined with an increase in smuggling, saw 98 per cent of the country's rhinos lost, as were three-quarters of the elephants and four-fifths of lions and leopards.

own position by misappropriating army funds, supplying rebels in southern Sudan and planning the assassination of a rival and his wife. Things came to a head when Amin learned that Obote had ordered his arrest.

But Obote made a fatal flaw; he immediately left the country for a Commonwealth heads of government meeting in Singapore. He had allegedly said just beforehand that he was the only African leader not afraid of being overthrown, but his absence gave Amin the opportunity for a preemptive strike. In the early hours of 25 January 1971, as Obote flew back to Uganda, Amin launched a coup.

Amin's forces blocked roads, seized the airport at Entebbe and swiftly dealt with the pockets of resistance before Radio Uganda announced the removal of Obote, who was accused of corruption, suppressing democracy and failing to maintain law and order. He fled to Tanzania, where he would plot his return. Amin, meanwhile, was met with dancing and cheering in the streets by Ugandans jubilant at seeing the back of Obote.

The international community similarly welcomed the coup. Britain expected Amin, who had made a fiercely loyal soldier in their army, to be a strong and malleable ally, while Israel looked to maintain their strong relationship with Uganda. Amin offered up early encouragement with some well-orchestrated gestures, such as freeing political prisoners and dismantling the secret police. Another of his first acts was to have the body of King Freddie, who had died during his exile in London, back to Uganda for burial, which went a long way in winning over his previous foes.

"HIS CAREER CONTINUED TO ADVANCE UNTIL HE WAS BUILDING THE ARMY WITH HIMSELF AT THE TOP"

1,000

In the wake of Idi Amin's expulsion of Asian non-citizens, the Ugandan economy collapsed. Inflation reached around 1,000 per cent.

Yet it quickly became apparent that Amin was not to be trusted. Announcing that he was a soldier and not a politician, he promised he would step down as soon as it was possible to hold elections for a new government, only to declare himself the new president. He then set about purging his army of anyone who may be loyal to Obote, especially from the Acholi and Langi tribes. Soldiers were slaughtered in their barracks, and when two Americans tried to investigate they turned up dead too.

Amin was on a war footing already, so looked to take advantage of international support by visiting Britain in July, when he met Prime Minister Edward Heath and had lunch at Buckingham Palace, followed by Israel. When both refused his request for arms, though, he turned to Libya and secured the support of its young revolutionary leader, Muammar Gaddafi. The once-friendly relations with Israel only worsened until Amin expelled hundreds of their military advisers and, under the guise of his piety to Islam, spewed hate-filled invective against the Jewish people.

In September 1972 he sent a telegram to UN secretary general Kurt Waldheim saying: "Germany is the right place where, when Hitler was supreme commander, he burnt over six million Jews. This is because Hitler and all German people knew that the Israelis are not people who are working in the interest of the people of the world, and that is why they burnt the Israelis alive with gas."

His attitude was not much better towards his own people. Within Uganda the ethnic cleansing spread from the army to civilians so that anyone could mysteriously disappear or be suddenly abducted in the street by the armed gangs that made up Amin's secret police/death squads. Under their sinisterly Orwellian names like State Research Bureau (SRB) and Public Safety Unit (PSU), these specially formed groups interrogated, tortured and carried out mass killings in order to eradicate any threat. In truth, the young men – recruited from Amin's own Kakwa tribe – did not need a reason to target somebody. They could loot, rape and kill whoever they wanted.

Victims were bludgeoned with sledgehammers or made to line up and hammer each other to death. The cells of Buganda Palace, which Amin had stormed under Obote's orders, could be crammed with some 60 people before they were flooded and electrified. The place that everyone feared most was Makindye Prison, a slaughterhouse where few who went in would ever be seen again. It was there that 32 army officers were packed into a small cell and blown up by a stick of dynamite.

The tens of thousands of bodies were dumped in mass graves or left in SRB headquarters, and many were thrown into rivers or Lake Victoria, where horrified onlookers would watch them being eaten by crocodiles. At one point the Nile became so filled with corpses that one of the dams got clogged.

At the centre of the killing was Amin himself, the 'Butcher of Uganda'. His cruelty went unabated – as seen by other dictators around the world, he had anyone wearing spectacles killed as an attack on the intelligentsia. And it only got worse as he grew increasingly paranoid about assassination attempts and potential rivals. His suspicions turned on prominent figures including an archbishop, a chief justice, the governor of the bank of Uganda and ministers. They joined a death toll that may never be known for sure, but it is estimated that over 300,000 died in Amin's eight years in power.

Murder was not the only way Amin reduced the population of his country. On 4 August 1972 he issued a decree expelling everyone of Asian descent holding a British passport in a move that he described as an "economic war". A zealous nationalist, he considered foreign influence to be too dominant in Uganda's economy, and if the country was ever to be truly independent they would have to go. Allegedly the idea had come to him in a dream in which God told him to act and, in a display of his impulsiveness, he put it into action the very next day.

Around 50,000 men, women and children were given 90 days to leave, taking only what they could carry and the clothes on their back. And while more than 20,000 Asian Ugandans were permitted to stay, they chose to join the enforced exodus. Panic and fear ensued, and Amin's gangs made the ordeal even more terrifying as they harassed the waves of fleeing people, robbing them as they trudged their way to the airport.

DARING RESCUE FROM ENTEBBE

How Israeli passengers were saved from a flight hijacking

Air France Flight 139, an Airbus A300B4-203 passenger plane, was carrying 246 passengers and 12 crew when, on 27 June 1976, it was hijacked by members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and two German radicals. The plane was flying from Tel Aviv to Paris, via Athens, but ended up at Entebbe airport, Uganda, where waiting to welcome them on the tarmac was President Idi Amin, a vociferous voice against Israel. Demands were made before around 150 non-Israeli hostages were released. The rest endured a week of being held at gunpoint in the airport building – and listening to Amin's daily speeches.

All the while the Israelis hatched a daring raid. Late on 3 July, and after flying 2,500 miles, some 200 commandos landed at Entebbe. In just 90 minutes they had killed the hijackers and dozens of Ugandan troops, and successfully saved 102 hostages. Three had died in the firefight, as did the commander of Operation Thunderbolt, Yonatan Netanyahu.

It was a humiliation for Amin. In retaliation of Kenya's assistance to Israel he had more than 200 Kenyans slaughtered and Dora Bloch, an elderly hostage who had been taken to hospital with a chicken bone stuck in her throat, was dragged from her bed and executed.

Following the successful operation to free the hostages, the rescue plane squadron leader is hoisted above the ecstatic crowd on his return to Israel

7

From 1972 to 1979, Idi Amin's security forces foiled seven major assassination attempts from rogue military officers alone.

British businessman are made to carry Idi Amin on a makeshift throne

27,000 When Asian Ugandans were given 90 days to leave the country, Britain responded by taking in around 27,000 refugees. They were invited to return in the 1980s and 1990s, but many had established lives.

Amin's policy was strongly criticised, but did actually find support among those who felt he was acting for the empowerment of African nations. He was a black leader rising above colonialism.

Amin had announced he would make "black millionaires" by handing over businesses and property to Ugandans. It was a total disaster. The Asian communities had dominated business, trade, retail, agriculture, commerce and manufacturing, so their sudden expulsion crippled the already-struggling economy. Everything was given to Amin's soldiers and supporters, who had no idea how to run them. Inflation exploded, food ran short and the country descended into penury. Smuggling became such a major problem that helicopters and tanks had to patrol known routes and Amin began televised executions for anyone caught.

Public killings were also a reaction to a doomed attempt at invasion in September 1972, when Ugandan exiles tried to seize power with a small ground force and a plane that never took off. Still, it made Amin anxious, and he had foreign journalists rounded up and police officers murdered. As the years went on his clampdowns became more brutal. In 1976 he sent the army to put down protests at Makerere University, resulting in the deaths of five students. Afterwards he forced the university to award him an honorary doctorate.

Through such fear Amin kept a vice-like stranglehold on the Ugandan people, but he would not have stayed in power were it not for keeping the army on his side. After the purges he more than doubled its size by filling the ranks with Kakwa, along with Sudanese and Congolese men friendly to him. Only a quarter of the army was actually Ugandan. Amin, who liked to call himself 'Big Daddy', then used rewards, promotions and patronage to keep them loyal, such as the houses, cars and businesses of the expelled Asians.

What Amin failed to control – despite his ongoing showmanship in front of the cameras – was his reputation abroad. His nationalistic fervour remained popular, resulting in him chairing the Organisation of African Unity in 1975. Libya, too, continued to be an ally, although other Muslim nations rejected his calls for alliances and Uganda grew alienated in the wider international community. In his early years Amin was the buffoon throwing outlandish insults or challenges to world leaders, like daring the Tanzanian president to a boxing match. Yet news still spread about the atrocities in Uganda. Then, in 1976, an Air France plane was hijacked and held at Entebbe airport.

> **"WHAT AMIN FAILED TO CONTROL – DESPITE HIS SHOWMANSHIP IN FRONT OF THE CAMERAS – WAS HIS REPUTATION ABROAD"**

43 The titles that Amin bestowed upon himself, including 'President for Life' and 'Conqueror of the British Empire' totalled 43 words.

In the aftermath, Britain broke diplomatic relations with Uganda in 1977. Amin's response was to award himself a CBE (Conqueror of the British Empire), the VC (a mock Victoria Cross) and threaten to crash the Queen's silver jubilee.

Mocking his former colonial masters was a favourite pastime of Amin's. He had long declared an affinity with the Scottish people against English rule, going so far as to name himself the last king of Scotland. He discussed leading an army for Scottish independence, dressed one of his regiments in kilts and named some of his many sons with Scottish names like McKenzie and Mackintosh. Amin always wished to be seen as a family man and had dozens of children with the six wives he had, as a polygamist, during his life.

By 1978, though, any dreams of leading Scotland to independence had completely dwindled away as he lost nearly all support to keep control within his own country. The infrastructure and administration of Uganda was all but paralysed, and even his formerly loyal army turned on their commander-in-chief. As more and more people fled the country, Amin blamed the Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere and launched an ill-advised invasion in October in a bid to annex a triangle of land he had long claimed to be part of Uganda.

His army, perhaps too used to attacking unarmed civilians, were driven out by a combined force of Tanzanian soldiers and Ugandan exiles. They were pursued over the border and all the way to Kampala. By the time the capital was liberated on 11 April 1979 Amin had fled the country on a helicopter, never to return. Eight years after coming to power in a military coup, it was fitting that his regime would be brought crashing down by another victorious military. In fact, he would be replaced by the very man he ousted, Milton Obote.

What was less fitting was that Amin was never brought to justice for his crimes. Having first taken refuge in Libya, he settled into his enforced isolation in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, where he was permitted to stay as a means of ensuring he kept a low profile. He lived out his days in comfort, and boredom, before dying of multiple organ failures on 16 August 2003.

A Ugandan woman bows down in adoration before Idi Amin

DECADES OF DESERT DICTATORSHIP

COLONEL GADDAFI

Colonel Muammar Gaddafi ruled Libya during more than four decades of repression and erratic foreign policy which nearly brought his country to war and ruin

WRITTEN BY: **MIKE HASKEW**

During 42 years of brutal despotic rule in the north African desert country of Libya, the colourful Colonel Muammar Gaddafi at times defied the rest of the world, establishing himself as a foremost advocate of Arab and then African nationalism. He was a key voice in the international discourse involving oil, a brutal and repressive ruler at home, and allegedly a sponsor of global terrorism.

The would-be 'King of Kings of Africa' was born the son of a goat and camel herder in a tent near Qasr Abu Hadi on the outskirts of the town of Sirte in the western Libyan province of Tripolitania. His Bedouin family was of modest means and virtually no political influence. His birth is believed to have occurred in 1942 or 1943 - no written records were kept. Gaddafi received a basic Islamic education, his father working to pay for the experience, and though he was aware at an early age of the colonial influence of Europe on African nations, the flow of information via Arab radio and newspapers broadened his perspective. He quickly embraced Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser's drive to establish Arab nationalism, socialist economic views and disdain for European colonialism and Zionism.

His rise to power may have been unlikely, but Gaddafi responded to the influence of a series of events in the Arab world that shaped his perspective on the future of his country and his people. As a student and military officer, he witnessed the birth of Israel in 1948, revolution in Egypt in 1952, the Suez Crisis in 1956 and the brief rise of the United Arab Republic from 1958 to 1961. He became a devotee of Nasser and patterned his own burgeoning activism in similar fashion to his hero.

By the early 1960s, Gaddafi was known as a fervent Arab nationalist and dissident opposed to the repressive government of King Idris, whose Libyan kingdom had been established by the United Nations in 1951. Young Gaddafi dropped out of the University of Libya in Benghazi and joined the army, training under British military advisors in Libya and Great Britain. In 1964, he established the Central Committee of Free Officers, a secret organisation that aspired to depose Idris and establish a new order in Libya and across the Arab world.

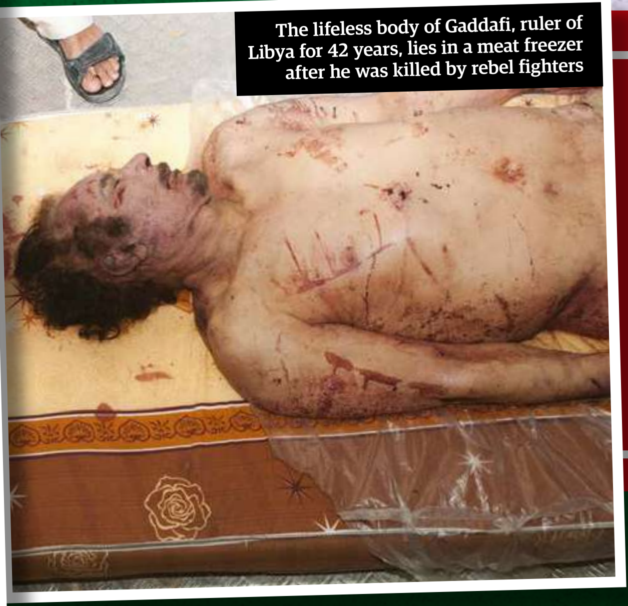
When King Idris left Libya in mid-1969 to spend the summer in Turkey and Greece, Gaddafi and other revolutionaries within the armed forces seized power amid anti-Western protests in Benghazi and the capital city of Tripoli. In the wake of the coup, also known as the 'One September Revolution' or the 'White Revolution', Gaddafi promoted himself to the rank of army colonel and proclaimed the Libyan Arab Republic. The handsome, charismatic Gaddafi was only 27 years old, and a massive cult of personality developed around him.

His initial target was the immense Libyan oil industry. After significant reserves of crude oil were discovered in the country in the early 1950s, Western oil companies had exploited the opportunity, utilising their technology to extract the precious commodity from the ground and setting prices according to their own whims. Gaddafi threatened to slash production and even cut off oil companies completely if existing agreements were not modified to benefit Libya more. His success propelled the Libyan leader into the international spotlight as it became the first 'Third World' country to gain the lion's

Colonel Gaddafi meets Jordan's King Hussein and Egypt's Anwar Sadat

Muammar Gaddafi addresses the United Nations General Assembly in 2009.

Gaddafi addresses a crowd during the 1969 coup d'etat.



The lifeless body of Gaddafi, ruler of Libya for 42 years, lies in a meat freezer after he was killed by rebel fighters

A DICTATOR'S LAST HOURS

As Libyan rebels tightened their noose around the town of Sirte, many believed they had finally cornered Muammar Gaddafi. "We have heard several times about something called 'the asset', which has been moved around the city," said one fighter. The 'asset' was indeed the despotic ruler, on the run since the fall of Tripoli on August 21, 2011. It was now October, and the dictator's time had run out.

Although the last hours of Gaddafi's life are shrouded in conjecture, and exactly how he died remains the subject of controversy, a rebel captured three minutes of cell phone footage that documented part of the drama. The footage is blurred, and firsthand accounts of the events are contradictory, but Gaddafi is seen bleeding profusely from a wound to his head. Dazed, he is led from the drain where he had been hiding. Blood from other injuries has stained his clothing, and shouts of "God is Great!" can be heard.

While some rebels assert that he should be kept alive, others had enough. Still photos have emerged showing Gaddafi's lifeless body, apparently shot to death, slumped in the back of a pickup truck or lying on the ground surrounded by an angry throng. The images are grisly, but no less disturbing than his ruthless decades in power.

share of the revenue generated from its own vast natural resources.

Blending a pan-Arab perspective with elements of anti-imperialist and Islamic philosophy, Gaddafi appealed to other Arab nations for unity. Still, he ruthlessly maintained his hold on power within Libya, crushing dissent and keeping a tight grip on economic and social development. While he allowed individual ownership of small companies, he was determined that the government would control major enterprises, and as Libya's population only comprised about 3 million people, the country - and Gaddafi - gained tremendous wealth via the oil trade.

Seeking to establish himself among leading political theorists, Gaddafi authored the Green Book, a text that came to be revered among his followers and celebrated in architecture and monuments across the country. Intended to settle the differences between the opposing theories of capitalism and communism, his third universal theory offered a blueprint for economic and social revolution. Ironically, the Green Book became an instrument for the subjugation of the Libyan people. Analysts have largely dismissed its content as an erratic series of disjointed essays that fails to present a cohesive political and economic ideology.

During the 1970s, Gaddafi proposed a failed union of Libya, Syria and Egypt. He also attempted to unify his country with neighbouring Tunisia - another failure. Nevertheless, he continued to rule with a heavy hand at home, once ordering the public hanging of a group of students that had demonstrated against his regime in Benghazi and Tripoli. He also authorised assassins to track down political opponents who had fled the country and carry out murders around the world to dispel any lingering threat to his government. During one infamous stroke of retribution, he ordered 1,200 prisoners at the Abu Salim prison in Tripoli to be put to death in a three-hour period.

In 1977, Gaddafi renamed his country the 'Great Socialist Popular Libyan Arab Jamahiriya', or 'State of the Masses'. He led the Arab countries in their condemnation of the Camp David Accords the following year, and became an outspoken opponent of Israel. Meanwhile, his personal eccentricities became well known around the world. When travelling, he preferred to reside in a luxurious, expansive Bedouin tent rather than a hotel. He often spent time in the desert, preferring its seclusion to the city life of Tripoli. His extreme views were too much at times even for his radical Arab brethren, and he was often shunned as a political pariah.

Gaddafi greets French President Nicolas Sarkozy during his reemergence

Wreckage of Pan Am Flight 103 litters the Lockerbie area

Gaddafi railed against the West and foreign dictatorships or totalitarian regimes, while ironically fostering one of the most repressive societies in the modern era. Libya's foreign policy was also rapidly growing more hostile to the West. Gaddafi criticised the United States for its support of Israel, and sent weapons and supplies to opposing Palestinian organisations. His regime also supported Iran during the 1979-80 hostage crisis, in which American diplomats working in the US embassy in Tehran were taken hostage by a group of Iranian revolutionaries. A mob burned the US embassy in Tripoli in a show of support. Furthermore, Gaddafi covertly pursued the development of nuclear and chemical weapons.

By the mid-1980s, relations between Libya and the West, particularly the United States, had deteriorated substantially. Bloody attacks on airports in Rome and Vienna perpetrated by the Abu Nidal terror network and other high-profile terrorist operations were connected to Libya. In 1986, the bombing of a nightclub frequented by

RAMBLINGS OF A MAD DICTATOR?

The Murderous Biochemist

Muammar Gaddafi published the three-part, 21,000-word Green Book in 1975, six years after his rise to power in Libya. The short volume presents the eccentric dictator's views on a variety of topics, from politics and economics to owning vehicles and the differences between men and women. During Gaddafi's 42-year rule, the Green Book is said to have been a component of school curriculums in Libya, with at least two hours per week devoted to its study. Excerpts were regularly aired on state-run television and radio. The Green Book became entrenched in Libyan society.

However, while its author asserted that the Green Book solved the problems of both democracy and communism, his writing veered off into interpersonal relationships, art and culture. He condemned elections, representative government and political parties, and advocated people's committees as the only true form of democracy. Shortly after publishing the Green Book, Gaddafi pledged that Libyans would begin to rule themselves. He 'resigned' from all offices in 1977 and proclaimed himself the "guide to the era of the masses." Strangely, his iron grip on the Libyan people contradicted the philosophy he had promoted in his writing. Of course, such odd behaviour was standard fare for Gaddafi.

الكتاب الأخضر
النظرية الماركسية

Libyan protesters opposite Downing Street London - 2011

American military personnel in Berlin, Germany, killed two US soldiers and a civilian, prompting President Ronald Reagan to label Gaddafi "the mad dog of the Middle East." The US launched air attacks against Tripoli and Benghazi in reprisal. 35 Libyans were killed, and Gaddafi's adopted daughter was reportedly among the casualties. However, the colonel was unhurt. On several occasions, Gaddafi challenged high seas freedom of navigation laws and declared a "line of death" along the Gulf of Sidra in the southern Mediterranean. US Navy warships and aircraft clashed with the Libyan military and brought the nations to the brink of war.

In 1988, Pan Am Flight 103, carrying 270 passengers and crew, exploded over Lockerbie, Scotland. All aboard were killed in the most lethal act of terrorism in the history of the United Kingdom. Although Libyan agents were suspected of planting the bomb that destroyed the aircraft, Gaddafi denied responsibility. When two Libyan operatives were identified as perpetrators, the United Nations imposed stiff economic sanctions, and Libya took the brunt of international condemnation. The two agents were convicted of the crime in 1999.

The Libyan government finally acknowledged its role in the Lockerbie disaster in 2003 and paid reparations to the families of the victims. Perhaps in response to the toppling of dictator Saddam Hussein in Iraq, Gaddafi further relinquished his stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction, ending years of economic and diplomatic isolation. A general improvement of relations with the West followed, and heads of state visited the leader's capital city. In the autumn of 2004, the United States ended a trade embargo that had crippled the Libyan economy, and international commerce resumed with vigour.

Meanwhile, Gaddafi shifted his foreign relations focus from the failed pan-Arab program to pan-Africanism, stressing Libya's ties to other African countries. He visited Nelson Mandela in South Africa and established aid programs to benefit other African nations. In 2002, he became a founder of the African Union. By 2008, a committee of African leaders referred to Gaddafi as "King of Kings."

The following year, the Libyan dictator visited the United States for the first time and addressed the United Nations General Assembly, oddly displaying the erratic behaviour for which he had become known years earlier. Rather than accepting his 15-minute time limit, Gaddafi rambled for more than 90 minutes, labelled the UN Security Council a "terrorist body", and tore up sections of the UN Charter. He further demanded $7.7 trillion in reparations from nations that had previously colonised and exploited the African continent.

During this period of reemergence, Gaddafi continued to exhibit strange conduct. He turned a 2010 visit to Italy into a circus, inviting young Italian women to convert to Islam and undermining the renewal of strong ties with Italy – the original purpose of the trip. He often disrupted meetings with African and Arab peers with bizarre antics, blowing cigarette smoke in the faces of fellow delegates and launching into lengthy, eccentric diatribes.

While Gaddafi held tightly to power in Libya, a wind of change began to blow across the Arab world in mid-2010. Later becoming known as the 'Arab Spring', the period included uprisings against repressive governments in Tunisia and Egypt. Peaceful demonstrations against Gaddafi began in Libya's cities in February 2011 and gained momentum as the people sought to topple the long-time dictator.

Initially, Gaddafi condemned the demonstrations and employed the military to ruthlessly crush them. Following a UN resolution for the protection of civilians, NATO forces entered the growing civil war, siding with the rebels. By the end of June, the International Criminal Court had issued a warrant for Gaddafi's arrest for crimes against humanity. He was forced to flee the capital, and rebel troops entered Tripoli on 21 August.

During the final weeks of his life, Gaddafi was a fugitive, protected by a trusted inner circle of family members and loyalists. He was finally captured in Sirte in October 2011, and killed by rebel fighters within hours. Gaddafi was bold, charismatic, eccentric, and brutal, but his once grand vision had come to an ignominious end.

THE REGIME OF THE COLONELS

With Greece in political chaos during the 1960s, a group of army officers took it upon themselves to take control

WRITTEN BY: **DAVID SMITH**

Perhaps unlike other revolutions, the military coup that took place in Greece in the early hours of 21 April 1967 had long been anticipated. Four years earlier the British Foreign Office had reported that the prospects of stable government in Greece were "not very encouraging" and intelligence agencies were confident that trouble was brewing. By 1966 a right-wing coup was considered a near-certainty.

There had been political turmoil in Greece for years, with five prime ministers sitting between July 1965 and April 1967. British and American intelligence services had gathered evidence of a plot, codenamed 'Hawk', hatched by the Greek King Constantine II and his top generals. The plot aimed to counter the growing, alarming influence of the left-wing in Greek politics, especially the outlawed Communist Party. The king had even approached the Americans to see how they would react if he was "forced to undertake a constitutional deviation".

Whatever euphemism was chosen, the possibility of a coup had become a probability as elections approached. Scheduled for 28 May 1967, victory for Georgios Papandreou's left-leaning Center Union Party was considered likely. This was expected to be the trigger for a takeover, which would be led by the king and the commander-in-chief of the army, Grigorios Spandidakis.

When the coup finally came, its timing, coming before the elections had even been held, was a mild surprise. Even more surprising was the fact that Spandidakis, far from leading it, was one of the first people arrested. American intelligence officials would later admit: "we were looking at the wrong coup".

Instead of the expected power grab from the upper echelons of the Greek Army, the coup

A tank on the streets of Athens during the coup

was instead initiated by a cadre of more junior officers. Twelve of them formed the heart of the coup, but three took the most prominent roles – Georgios Papadopoulos, Nikolaos Makarezos and Stylianos Pattakos. With radio stations playing military marches and broadcasts beginning with the chilling words, "We decide and we order", the Regime of the Colonels had taken power.

The junta's rule would be marked by repression, censorship, imprisonment of political rivals and torture. Despite not being affiliated with any political party, it would remain in power for seven years. How this was even possible had a lot to do with the dire straits Greece found itself in at that moment in time.

Nazi occupation during the Second World War, followed by a brutal civil war immediately afterwards had fractured the nation, leaving a significant section of the population willing to welcome peace at almost any cost. The population was growing slowly (it increased at a rate of just 0.41 per cent per year from 1961 to 1970) with the result that the nation was steadily ageing. Almost a third of Greeks at the time of the coup were old enough to remember the war-time hardships and austerity, making them willing to tolerate dictatorship if it brought stability and prosperity.

Outside Greece, the coup was viewed with disapproval – but it did keep the country out of dreaded communist hands. As a member of NATO, and with a key strategic position in the Mediterranean (it was sometimes referred to as the 'underbelly' of NATO), communist influence in Greece was feared by other nations, especially the Americans. Many Greeks, in fact, believed the CIA had a hand in the coup, although there is little evidence to support the claim.

Another reason behind the success of the coup was its speed – planning had been thorough and effective. Stylianos Pattakos may not have been a colonel (he was actually a brigadier general at the time of the coup) but he held a very convenient position. He commanded a training school for armoured units, based in Athens, which gave him access to the tanks that spread out through the city on the night of 20-21 April. The regime also moved rapidly to arrest any left-wing politicians or activists who might raise objections, as well as superior officers in the army who had been planning their own coup. On top of this, other left-leaning sympathisers, such as intellectuals, teachers and journalists, were rounded up. In all,

INFLATION RATE IN GREECE DURING THE REGIME OF THE COLONELS

1967	-1.67%
1968	3.39%
1969	1.64%
1970	4.84%
1971	3.08%
1972	5.97%
1973	30.99%

The Regime of the Colonels, which ruled Greece for seven years

KEY FIGURE: STYLIANOS PATTAKOS

The man whose tanks helped secure power for the Regime of the Colonels lived to be 103 years old and died having witnessed the recent collapse of the Greek economy. Remaining defiant about his years in power, Pattakos claimed, "The Greeks are not disciplined like the Germans or the British. They need authority."

Pattakos was born on the island of Crete, in 1912, and attended the Hellenic Military Academy. He headed the Ministry of the Interior in the military junta and earned the nickname 'the Trowel' thanks to his frequent appearances in propaganda films, trowel in hand, at the opening of new construction projects. Perhaps misremembering the seven-year rule of the junta, Pattakos claimed that he and his colleagues had "enriched the country. We imposed the rule of law. We came up with a new constitution. Everything was going like clockwork."

The trial that followed the fall of the regime disagreed and Pattakos was sentenced to death, although that was commuted to life imprisonment. He was released from jail on medical grounds in 1990, dying 26 years later, unrepentant to the last.

The man whose tanks made the coup a possibility insisted he and his fellow junta members had made Greece a stronger nation

King Constantine II marries Princess Anne-Marie of Denmark in 1964

thousands of people were arrested in the first hours of the coup.

By 6am the conspirators were able to present a fait accompli to the young king, who felt he had no alternative but to officially recognise the regime as the legitimate rulers of Greece. The acquiescence of Spandidakis helped. Though he had expected to lead any coup himself, he fell into line behind the regime and was later rewarded with the position of deputy prime minister. There had been no bloodshed and the transition of power had taken just hours. The constitution was suspended and martial law was put in place. Recognition by the king was hugely important, as it conferred a sense of legitimacy on the junta. But that legitimacy would soon be undermined by an attempted counter-coup involving the monarch himself.

The new regime (which called itself the 'Revolution of April 21, 1967', having a phoenix and an armed soldier as the key elements on its flag) had barely got to work when the king made his move. For eight months, the regime had made a pretence at respecting democracy. A civilian prime minister was the figurehead of a puppet government, but Papadopoulos wielded the real power. Around 400 army officers, considered unreliable by the new regime, were forced to retire and these offered a power base to the king, who attempted to seize back the country in December 1967. After the counter-coup failed, Constantine II was forced into exile abroad, and Papadopoulos tightened his grip on the reins of power. The puppet prime minister was ousted and Papadopoulos took on the position. General Spandidakis, who had backed the counter-coup, was removed as deputy prime minister, although he still faced criminal charges when the regime fell.

Another general, Georgios Zoitakis, was named regent in the king's absence, but Papadopoulos

ΕΣΠΕΡΟΣ
ΧΡΗΜΑΤΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΥ
ΑΚΡΟΝ
LUFTHANSA

A political demonstration in Athens, July 1965

An armoured vehicle prowls the streets after Constantine II's failed counter-coup

would eventually claim that title as well. Any pretence that this was anything other than a military junta was now at an end, but the Regime of the Colonels still had an opportunity to establish itself as a credible leadership.

Dictatorships have several routes to legitimacy. They can have charismatic leaders, they can appeal to a traditionalistic element in society (typically longing for a return to the 'old-fashioned values' that characterised an earlier, often mythical age) or they can simply do a good job - by running the economy well, bringing political stability and prosperity to the nation and not by abusing its position.

The Regime of the Colonels had no chance of taking the first route. Being composed of middle-tier officers, there were no major characters to draw upon and the regime was typically described as 'stolid'. The ruling trio did not possess much in the way of political savvy. Bullying and bluster was the weapon of choice for the colonels, rather than charisma. A serious effort was made to take the second route and appeal to traditional values, but this was muddled at best. A military junta generally tries to portray itself as dynamic and modernising, so it did not sit well to hark back to an earlier period in Greece's history.

Nevertheless, traditional Greek and Christian values were championed, but this contrasted sharply with the regime's use of repressive measures against its opponents. Noises were made by the junta about returning power to the people as quickly as possible, but this was merely posturing that was easily seen through.

The Greek values that the junta claimed to be at the heart of their regime were more easily identified by what they weren't, rather than what they were (the desire to unite the country with Cyprus was one of few really clear-cut aims). Communism was obviously painted as the enemy, but so too were socialism, fascism and national socialism. The regime drew criticism from every section of the political landscape—from left, centre and right—so it was perhaps inevitable that the junta would claim to be forging a new path.

The colonels insisted that they were constructing a 'new ideology'. Traditional values, harking back to the days of ancient Greece, sounded enticing and emphasis was placed on five areas. Economic development, administrative reform, reemphasis on traditional education, limiting of social inequalities and a 'healthier' political life all sounded good in principle. The junta would be judged on how much it achieved under these banners.

There were some instant winners under the new regime. Army officers received significant pay rises and other perks, including preferential rates on loans. Although it is easy to see this as the colonels looking after their own (as well as keeping potential rivals at bay), army officers had been seriously underpaid for years. Private agricultural debts were also written off, but a wary public saw this as nothing more than an

"NOISES WERE MADE BY THE JUNTA ABOUT RETURNING POWER TO THE PEOPLE AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE, BUT THIS WAS MERELY POSTURING THAT WAS EASILY SEEN THROUGH"

attempt to buy support. Investment in public spending projects was also massively increased. Money spent on the creation of parks, for instance, increased by 600 per cent as the junta attempted to make a visible impact on the day-to-day lives of its citizens. Imports increased, especially of desirable consumer and luxury goods, and the regime had to borrow more money, at increasingly unfavourable interest rates, to pay for them.

Revitalising the economy appeared to be working at first, but it was empty growth, fuelled by higher national debt, and this had the inevitable effect of feeding inflation. The budget deficit rose from 3.6 per cent in 1967 to 7.4 per cent in 1974 and inflation began to soar. The regime was unlucky in that a global economic crisis hit in the 1970s, spurred by rising oil prices, but the economic policy they were following was doomed to fail in any case.

In the area of administrative reform, the regime had no expertise to draw upon and instead of decreasing bureaucracy, they actually made it worse. Layers were added to administrative processes, making the system even more cumbersome that it was before.

Efforts to improve educational standards were a similar story of botched ideas and lack of a guiding principle. Reforms initiated by previous, democratically elected governments, were repealed, then reinstated, and then repealed again. This was a regime that quite literally did not know what it was doing and, ironically, it was to be dissatisfied students that would eventually help to topple it.

Political reform proved no more attainable than economic, educational or administrative reforms. The search for a 'new democracy' was never likely to succeed when a group of unelected army officers held power. Having no particular political leaning did not help, as there was no easily recognisable banner around which to rally support. In the area of social inequality, the last of the self-professed targets of the regime, most methods of measuring it suggest that the social divide in Greece actually widened under the rule of the colonels.

> **"REVITALISING THE ECONOMY APPEARED TO BE WORKING AT FIRST, BUT IT WAS EMPTY GROWTH, FUELLED BY HIGHER NATIONAL DEBT"**

With the regime failing in its major goals, minor issues began to assume greater importance. Petty laws were passed banning mini skirts, as well as long hair or beards for men. The regime was, in many ways, a laughing stock. In one area, however, there was no cause for laughter. The regime's record on human rights was appalling. An estimated 6,000 people were being held without trial in deportation camps within a few months of the colonels coming to power. A deep residual hatred of communists from the civil war era fuelled the brutality, with Brigadier General Dimitrios Ioannidis, as head of the military police, the symbol of the regime's oppressive nature. An Amnesty International report from 1975 left no doubt that "torture was practised on a systematic basis under the junta's direction".

The report identified two main aims of the torture. In the early years of the regime it was intended to gather information on anti-regime activities. From 1971 onwards it became a deliberate tool of intimidation aimed particularly at the student movements. Preference was given to forms of torture that would leave no marks as evidence, and included electric shocks, psychological and sexual abuse and beatings on the soles of the feet. Less formally, gangs of prison guards would simply beat prisoners up in what they referred to as 'tea parties'.

The widespread use of torture seriously undermined the legitimacy of the junta. Unable to convince the public of its right to rule, it had resorted to intimidation to stamp out and deter opposition.

General Georgios Zoitakis, who was named regent after the king's failed grab for power

Papadopoulos in his role as prime minister, in 1968

Papadopoulos celebrates the anniversary of the coup in 1968

In this respect, the fractured nature of the opposition to the regime played into its hands. The colonels attracted criticism from every corner of the political spectrum, but these diverse movements were unable to coalesce into a unified opposition that might have toppled the junta. Monarchists and communists simply could not work together and rather than facing a unified threat, the regime was instead presented with a collection of individually weak organisations. The 'Pan Hellenic Liberation Movement', the 'Democratic Defence' and the 'Patriotic Anti-Dictatorship Front' all agreed that the junta was an evil institution, but could not bring themselves to join forces to oust it.

Outside Greece, despite failing in all areas, the regime was not ostracised by the international community. In fact, only Sweden broke off diplomatic relations. For the bulk of Western Europe and the United States, the most important thing about Greece was its ability to remain a reliable part of NATO. Almost anything was preferable to a communist regime in Greece. News of the widespread use of torture, however, did provoke a reaction.

In November 1969 a 1,200-page report was issued by the European Commission on Human Rights. There were immediate calls to banish Greece from the Council of Europe, which the junta pre-empted by walking out. Still, aid continued to flow into Greece, although the EEC

Tourism was one of few sectors of the economy to thrive under the colonels

Archbishop Makarios, President of Cyprus

KEY FIGURE: GEORGIOS PAPADOPOULOS

The 'strong man' of the military junta, Georgios Papadopoulos never quite shook off claims of his links to the CIA. Born in 1919 and a graduate of the Greek Officer's Academy in 1940, he worked at the Greek Central Intelligence Agency.

Having later lived for a while in the United States, suspicions of a CIA connection were perhaps inevitable. Papadopoulos had a taste for coups, having taken part in an unsuccessful one in 1956. As part of a right-wing group of officers known as 'The Sacred League of Greece', he was highly sensitive to the threat of communist influence in his country, using it as the main pretext for the coup of 21 April. Not being blessed with charisma, Papadopoulos also failed as an orator, with the collected volumes of his speeches appearing comical rather than stirring. He survived an assassination attempt in 1968, the would-be assassin going on to become a member of the Greek Parliament after the fall of the junta.

Defiant over his role in the coup, he refused to give evidence at his own trial and was sentenced to death, although, like with Pattakos, this was commuted to life imprisonment. He never asked to be released and died in 1999.

Papadopoulos' alleged connections with American intelligence were a gift to those claiming American involvement in the coup of 1967

KEY FIGURE: NIKOLAOS MAKAREZOS

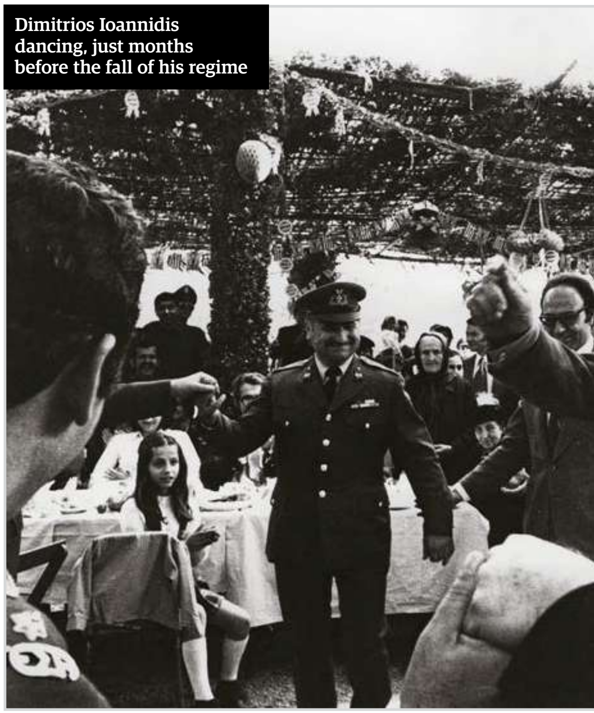
Born in 1919, Makarezos attended the Hellenic Military Academy and served in the army as an officer of artillery. He fought against the Italians during their invasion of 1940 and lived in exile in Egypt after the Nazis overran Greece the following year.

He studied American military practice at the US Army Artillery School in West Germany and also served as a military attaché in Bonn, at the Greek embassy.

Although having the lowest profile in the Regime of the Colonels, Makarezos was perhaps the best suited to a role in government. His basic knowledge of economics led to his being placed in charge of the running of the economy, although the results were mixed. Initial growth was spurred on by borrowing and increased reliance on foreign investment, but as the economy moved into stagnation he was eased out of his position and sidelined by Papadopoulos, under whom he also served as deputy prime minister.

Like his fellow regime members, Makarezos was sentenced to death for his part in the coup and the ensuing military dictatorship, but his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. He was released from prison on medical grounds in 1990 and died in 2009, at the age of 90.

The global economic crisis of the 1970s helped to finish Makarezos as a key member of the junta



Dimitrios Ioannidis dancing, just months before the fall of his regime

held back $56 million, part of a $125 million loan for development.

Suspicions over the involvement of the CIA in the coup were strengthened by the passive response of the Americans, and heightened even more when the junta granted home-porting facilities to the US Sixth Fleet, something the United States had been pursuing for years. But the Greek press had to be careful around the issue. An article in the British newspaper *The Observer,* claiming a link between Papadopoulos on the CIA, was swiftly removed from the shelves of Greek newsstands. Restrained criticism of the junta as a whole was tolerated, but Papadopoulos himself was off limits.

Amid the chaos, a burgeoning tourist industry was one of the few bright spots. This did not fit in with the junta's claim to be defending a Helleno-Christian society from the decadent West (the law against miniskirts had to be repealed as it threatened to limit the influx of tourists), but a booming sector of the economy was not something to be ignored.

Thanks to record levels of borrowing, the tourist boom and the simple contrast with the chaos of the period immediately preceding the coup, there was an atmosphere of optimism in Greece in the early years of the regime. It was not to last, and it was a new generation of Greeks, one that had not suffered through the Second World War and subsequent civil war, that would lead the way in bringing it down.

The junta had been in power for years by the time the student movement, emboldened by similar activists in other European countries and America, began to flex their muscles. Greece had not exactly become comfortable with the Regime of the Colonels, but it was becoming familiar. There was even a sense that military connections

Greek citizens, many of them students, celebrate the demise of the junta

were a sign of good breeding and hopeful prospects. Dating adverts in papers often ran along the lines of: 'Young girl, irreproachable morals, daughter of a colonel'.

Despite this, the younger generation was increasingly antagonistic towards the military dictatorship. At the same time, the university system in Greece was collapsing, giving the disenchanted youth extra reason to agitate.

The ratio of students to teaching staff climbed to the ridiculous level of 90:1 as the student population increased, and the junta's educational reforms floundered.

Student unrest led to police repression, which in turn led to more protests. Ex-military 'commissars' were put in place in universities, overseeing all aspects of academic life and also attending any student meetings they chose to. The junta also passed a law threatening students with national service (to which they would normally be exempt) if they did not attend all of their classes. It was petty, needless meddling and it drew the ire of the younger generation.

By the end of 1973 some students were advocating armed resistance and when the polytechnic building in Athens was occupied for three days, a crisis point was reached. In the ensuing violence, 36 people were killed.

With pressure on his regime increasing both at home and from overseas, Papadopoulos was worried enough to attempt some form of liberalising action.

Though he had gradually squeezed out his two closest colleagues, assuming more and more power, he promised democratic elections at the same time as naming himself president and abolishing the monarchy. His true feelings were expressed in a revealing comment: "Even the shadow of martial law," he stated, "is more effective than the normal process of law." Despite this, his mildly conciliatory efforts triggered a response from hard-line military officers including the military police chief Ioannidis, who initiated a further coup to oust Papadopoulos. The Regime of the Colonels had fallen, but the military was still in charge, until it disastrously mishandled rising tensions with Turkey over Cyprus.

The dream of 'Enosis' (unification with Cyprus) had been one of the principles of the Regime of the Colonels, but Ioannidis overstepped his limits when he attempted to foster a coup against Archbishop Makarios, the President of Cyprus.

The provocation was too much for Turkey to ignore, especially as it had a minority Turkish Cypriot population on the island to look after. They staged an invasion of the island in 1974, leaving it partitioned, which persists to this day.

The division of Cyprus, in fact, is perhaps the lasting legacy of the Regime of the Colonels. It is fitting, given the ineffective nature of its seven-year rule, that partition was exactly the opposite of what it had hoped to achieve.

Konstantinos Karamanlis returned as Greek prime minister in 1974

"WITH PRESSURE ON HIS REGIME INCREASING BOTH AT HOME AND FROM OVERSEAS, PAPADOPOULOS WAS WORRIED ENOUGH TO ATTEMPT SOME FORM OF LIBERALISING ACTION"

PERSONAL

The dictators who were a law unto themselves

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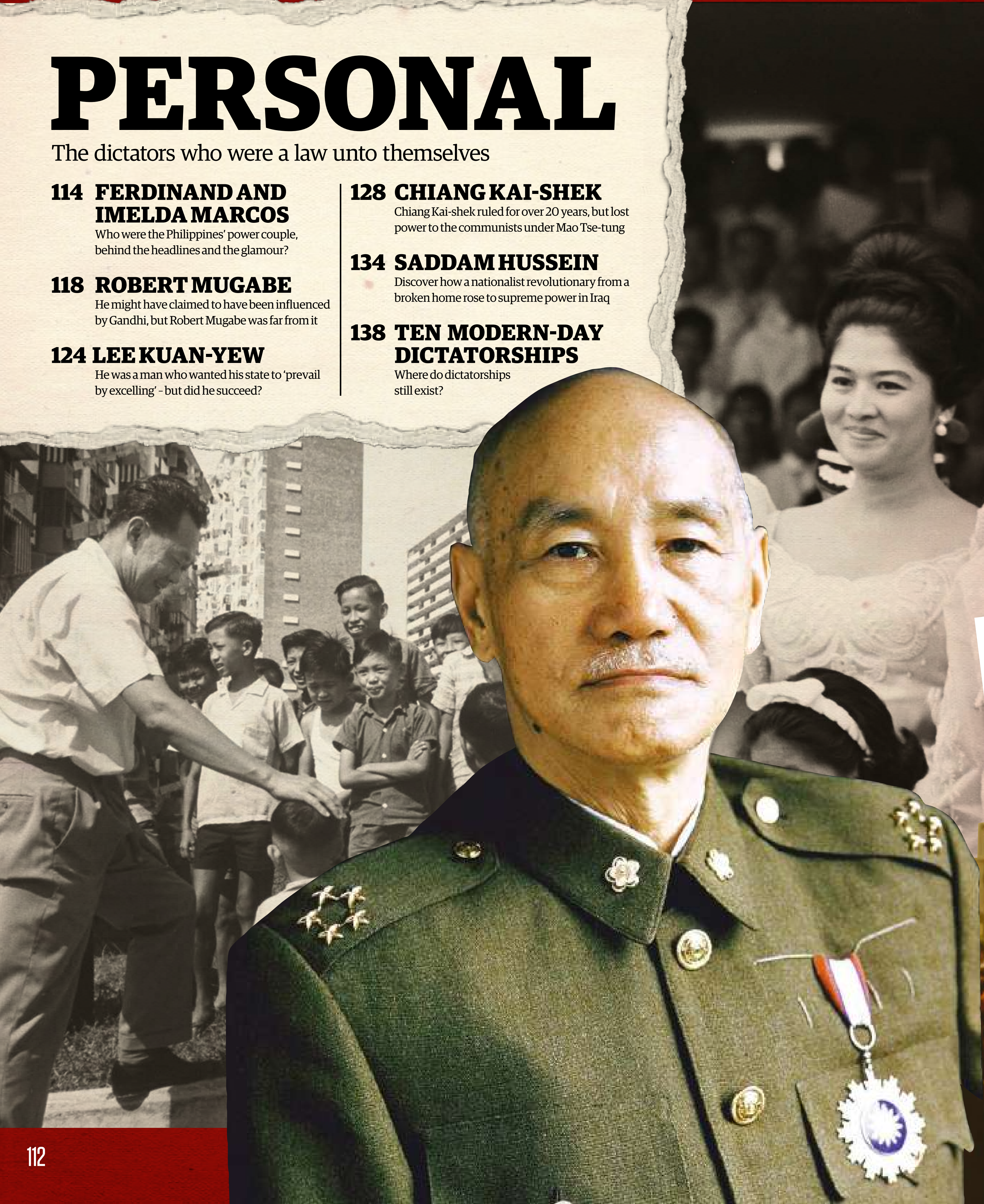


THE PHILIPPINES' POWER COUPLE

WRITTEN BY: **NELL DARBY**

Ferdinand Marcos claimed to be a war hero, while his wife Imelda was a shoe-loving beauty queen. But who, really, were the couple behind the headlines?

In the 1980s, they were a symbol of how corrupting power and money could be: she, with her collection of designer shoes and a spending habit that had once seen her make a plane do a mid-air U-turn so that she could buy some cheese in Rome; and he, with his jewelled cufflinks and a multi-billion dollar fortune despite only being on a modest official income. Yet they were the First Couple of the Philippines for three long decades until the people rose up and initiated a revolution. How had it taken so long for this to happen?

The clues were always there. When he sat for his exam to practice law in 1939, aged 22, Ferdinand Marcos achieved an almost unbelievable mark of 98.8 per cent. In fact, it *was* unbelievable. He was accused of cheating, and his score was soon revised. He later made assertions about his World War II service, claiming to be the "most decorated war hero in the Philippines". Yet the US Army poured cold water on these boasts, describing them as "fraudulent" and even "absurd". As with much of his life story, Marcos was a man of undoubted achievements, but always sought to make them sound bigger.

He could also be ruthless in his attempts to seek political power. In the late 1930s, he and his brother-in-law were convicted of murder after Julio Nalundasan, who had beaten Ferdinand's father Mariano in a National Assembly election, was suspiciously shot dead. This could have been the end of Ferdinand Marcos's fledgling career, but he appealed to his country's Supreme Court, and won. A man once convicted of murder – even if it was subsequently quashed – was now able not only to practice law if he wanted, but also work his way up the political ladder, right to the very top.

First, though, war intervened. In 1941, Marcos went on active duty with the US Armed Forces in the Philippines, serving for nearly a year before being taken prisoner by the Japanese. He was released five months later and returned to service, receiving a formal discharge in December 1945. Subsequently, he inflated his wartime achievements. He claimed to have been the leader of a guerrilla organisation, and that he had been a Lieutenant Colonel, both claims disputed by the American military. He also said he had received 33 war medals and decorations, when he had only been awarded two. What he did was create an image of himself as a fearless fighter, a strong defender of his country, and ultimately a player on the world stage.

Meanwhile, a young Filipina woman who would later become known as the 'Iron Butterfly' was attracting attention elsewhere. Imelda Remedios Visitacion Romuáldez was born in Manila in 1929, the sixth of her lawyer father's 11 children by his two wives. She was brought up in a wealthy Catholic family, but when she was nine her mother died, and her father relocated from Manila to Tacloban, as his law practice was struggling and he needed to cut costs. Although her father had often been late with school fees, disrupting her education, she graduated with a degree in education in 1952. The following year, she took part in a beauty contest – the 1953 Miss Manila pageant – and as joint winner then progressed to the Miss Philippines contest. She lost, but in 1954 gained a different prize. At the Philippine House of Representatives, she met a congressman: Ferdinand Marcos. An 11-day courtship followed before the couple married.

Ferdinand Marcos had become a congressman in the Philippine House of Representatives in

A FILIPINO DYNASTY

Since Marcos's death, Imelda has been able to resume a career in politics in her native country. But the Marcos family has a power that extends beyond Imelda, for two of the couple's four children have cemented this political dynasty, creating the myth of a Golden Era for the Philippines under Marcos rule and using nostalgia to encourage support for the newer generation of family politicians.

Ferdinand Marcos Jr, 61, commonly known as Bongbong, is the couple's only son. Educated at Oxford and in the US, he was governor of Ilocos Norte until his family fled. On returning to the Philippines, his career progressed – he was elected into the House of Representatives, then became a Senator. However, he lost when standing for Vice-President in 2015.

Meanwhile, his older sister Imee – previously implicated in the torture and murder of a young man in the 1970s – is also a politician, serving three terms in the House of Representatives, and being the current governor of Ilocos Norte – previously held by both her brother and father. She is currently running as a senator in the 2019 general election, aiming to "bring back the Marcoses to Malacañang Palace one day."

ublic o
MMISSION

Imee Marcos files her candicacy for senatorship in October 2018, alongside her brother, Bongbong Marcos

1949, and served until 1959. A further six-year stint in the country's senate followed. Finally, in 1965, Marcos was elected president, a position he would hold for the next 23 controversial years. He publicly acknowledged that his victory at the polls was due "to a large extent" to his politically popular wife; his emphasis on his war-hero status helped too.

This was at a time of prosperity for the Philippines, which had a growing economy, and also during a time when the country was establishing a co-operative relationship with Lyndon B Johnson's United States, with Marcos agreeing to limited involvement in the Vietnam War. In the summer of 1968, the feeling of prosperity faltered when the worst earthquake in decades hit the country. Marcos was seen to have acted quickly and decisively in response to the disaster, mobilising welfare agencies to help the victims and visiting the wreckage of the flats with Imelda. He was viewed as a man with empathy, who put the needs of his country first. He was also recognised for his efforts to improve the Philippine economy, encouraging construction projects and rice production. His efforts and popularity ensured that he would win a second term in office in 1969.

This would be more problematic for Marcos than his first, being marred by rebellions, violence and fraud. In the early 1970s, students were rising up. The communist Kabataang Makabayan (KM) was preparing for a People's War, and KM members protested at Congress, even throwing stones at Ferdinand and Imelda. The presidential palace was damaged, and the US Embassy vandalised. Two activists were confirmed dead, and several were injured by police during the riot. Two Manila newspapers blamed President Marcos for the deaths, and the 'First Quarter Storm' was seen as a reaction to Marcos's increasingly dictatorial style.

> "THE 'FIRST QUARTER STORM' WAS SEEN AS A REACTION TO MARCOS'S INCREASINGLY DICTATORIAL STYLE"

Marcos waves as he leaves for Washington DC in 1983

Meanwhile, Marcos heard murmurings of a plot to assassinate him, and rumours were growing about a possible coup d'état. Now, speculation spread in the foreign press about whether Marcos would use the rumours of an uprising to bring martial law to the Philippines. This turned out to be correct, as Marcos's diary for January 1970 clarified.

In early 1971, a series of bombings took place, allegedly organised by Communist party members or sympathisers. The most infamous was the Plaza Miranda bombing on 21 August. This was the Liberal Party's campaign rally, which had been disrupted when two hand grenades were thrown to the stage where speeches were to take place. Nine people died, and 95 were injured. It has been speculated that Marcos himself was responsible for the bombing, undertaken in order to justify government repression.

Exactly a month after Plaza Miranda, Marcos declared martial law. Those who opposed him were arrested and imprisoned – including opposition leader and critic Benigno Aquino Jr, who was imprisoned for seven years on spurious charges. Marcos continued his rule under martial law, aided by Imelda, who became an official herself and appointed family members to positions in government and industry. Yet Marcos continued to assist his country while behaving badly in other areas: the Philippines benefitted from new infrastructure projects and gains in agriculture, and Imelda encouraged tourism to the Philippines, commissioning luxury hotels such as the Philippine Plaza.

In 1973, a referendum was held, the result of which allowed Marcos to retain power indefinitely, and he would soon hold the joint positions of president and prime minister. Yet his stranglehold on his country could only be maintained for so long. In 1980, Benigno Aquino had a heart attack, and asked to be sent to the US with his family, where he could have surgery. This was agreed to, but only after Imelda made him promise not to speak out against the president while he was away. Over the next three years, Aquino would break his promise to Imelda, giving speeches denouncing the Philippine dictatorship.

Vengeance for his transgression was swift. After three years away, Aquino stepped out of his plane at Manila Airport, recorded by television cameras. He had been promised a 'safe return' by President Marcos if he came back to the country, but this proved to be a lie. As Aquino was being escorted from the plane, he was shot in the head and killed. His body was unceremoniously dragged away.

This shocking assassination put the Philippines into the world's consciousness again, and as the

Maria Corazon Aquino succeeded Marcos as president, and banned him from returning

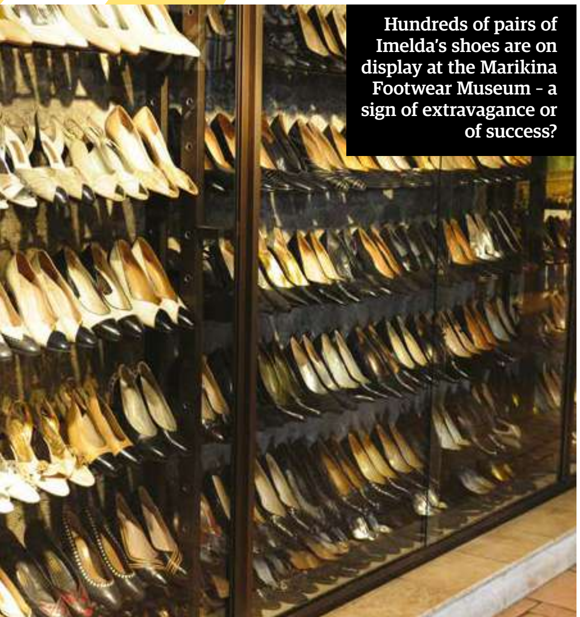
“THERE WAS UNEASE ABOUT MARCOS’S AUTOCRATIC CONTROL AND FRAUDULENT, PERHAPS EVEN MURDEROUS, ACTIVITIES”

country’s economy went into downfall, Marcos’ former supporters turned on him. In 1986, a snap election was called, which saw Aquino’s widow, Corazon, stand as president. Marcos won, but there were strong suspicions of electoral fraud, and growing unease about Marcos’s autocratic control and fraudulent, perhaps even murderous, activities. The people of the Philippines duly revolted.

The People Power Revolution of February 1986 – a non-violent campaign of civil resistance involving more than 2 million Filipinos – led to Ferdinand and Imelda making an escape from their home country. Marcos conceded his long presidency to Corazon Aquino, his political career at an end. The couple made their way to Hawaii, arriving with a fortune in jewellery, gold, stocks and money. The White House issued a statement to the effect that Marcos had avoided civil war by refusing to use violence against his people during the revolution; he had instead “permitted the peaceful transition to popular, democratic rule.” This was despite the evidence of his long years of dictatorial and extravagant rule.

In 1988, an American grand jury indicted both Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos on charges of racketeering, accusing them of having transferred $103 million into the US in order to buy real estate in New York, and defrauding banks of more than $165 million. The indictment stated that the couple had accumulated millions of dollars through “embezzlement, theft, bribes and kickbacks” between 1972 and 1986.

Ferdinand Marcos died in Hawaii on 28 September 1989. The following July, his widow was acquitted of the racketeering charges when they finally reached court. Imelda returned to the Philippines and became a politician in her own right, but her own controversies continue; in November 2018, aged 89, she was convicted of corruption. The repercussions of the Marcos story will be felt for some time.



Hundreds of pairs of Imelda’s shoes are on display at the Marikina Footwear Museum – a sign of extravagance or of success?

THE SHOE MUSEUM

Imelda Marcos became infamous for her extravagant lifestyle, which was epitomised by her extensive designer shoe collection. When she and Ferdinand went into exile in Hawaii, she left behind thousands of pairs of her shoes in the Malacañang Palace.

Estimates of just how many pairs there were vary, but many reports state that there were more than 2,700 pairs of “shoes, beautiful shoes”, as Imelda described them, all left behind in her extensive wardrobe.

What could be done with these visible signs of Imelda’s excess? The answer was to put some 800 pairs of shoes – large ones, for Imelda does not have small feet – in the Marikina Footwear Museum in the Philippines, where visitors could gawp at the selection of heels, sandals, flat-soled shoes and boots.

There is, though, a political message in displaying the shoes publicly, albeit a two-sided one. On the one hand, displaying the shoes reinforces the message that Ferdinand and Imelda were interested in themselves more than their country, that they lived an opulent lifestyle while others suffered. The shoes represent their extravagance and lack of consideration for the economic problems that some of their countrymen faced. On the other hand, it serves to make Imelda something of an icon, a representative of a more glamorous era as well as being part of a couple who had political clout as well as fame.

Appropriately, a giant shoe greets visitors to the Marikina Footwear Museum – home of the Imelda Marcos shoe collection

Unrepentant and arrogant, Mugabe faces the media

THE NON-NEGOTIATING INTELLECTUAL REVOLUTIONARY

ROBERT MUGABE

He claimed to have been influenced by Gandhi, but Robert Mugabe was prepared to take up arms and abhorred the notion of a spineless ceasefire

WRITTEN BY: **JOANNA ELPHICK**

In 1965, the white then-Prime Minister of Rhodesia, Ian Smith, claimed that, despite there being 4 million black residents and only 200,000 whites, black majority rule would happen "never in a thousand years". It was, he believed, the job of the minority white citizens to govern and maintain the 'jewel of Africa', and it was unthinkable that a boy from a poor Shona family in southern Rhodesia would one day prove him wrong.

Robert Gabriel Mugabe had a tragic childhood filled with disappointment, hardship and heartbreak. His family belonged to the Zezuru tribe and followed a strict Jesuit upbringing that focused on self-discipline, a trait that young Robert would display from an early age. In 1930 his father fell out with the Jesuit priests and the humiliated family were forced out of the mission village. Within weeks of their expulsion one of Robert's older brothers died, followed four years later by another after he ate poisoned maize. His father left home, ostensibly to find work, but he soon abandoned his wife and children in favour of another woman who he moved in with and had three more children.

When a new priest, Father Jerome O'Hea, took over the mission, the Mugabe children were welcomed back into the school, where Robert continued his education. O'Hea regaled the boy with tales of the Irish War of Independence, filling him with notions of overthrowing the British imperial regime and encouraging him to believe that he could 'make a difference'. As a result, Mugabe decided to pursue a career in teaching, allowing him to enlighten others and support his family.

Having won a scholarship at South Africa's Fort Hare University, Mugabe left home and began associating with a wide variety of political individuals, many of whom introduced him to the notion of Communism. His head was already filled with dreams of revolution but, when he took up a

A billboard of Mugabe stands vandalised outside his political headquarters
YOUTH LEAGU

WANTED
OBERT MUGABE
INCE 2000 FOR
HE DEATHS OF

Protesters demonstrate outside the Embassy of Zimbabwe in London

Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo join hands in Nairobi

post at Takoradi Teacher Training College in Ghana, he realized that these fantasies could become a real possibility. Here was a former colony that had achieved true independence. Mugabe came home in 1960 determined to place Rhodesia back in the hands of its black majority.

However, he returned to find the revolution had started without him through the National Democratic Party. When a number of NDP members were arrested, Mugabe joined 7,000 people in a protest march that rapidly turned into a demonstration of 40,000. Here, for the first time, the teacher from Kutama addressed the people on a makeshift platform and instantly realised that this was the cause that he wanted to devote the rest of his life to. Mugabe was a good public speaker, whipping up the audience and capturing the mood. As a result he rose rapidly up the ranks of the NDP, becoming the publicity secretary within only a year of joining.

His friend Joshua Nkomo began negotiations with the Prime Minister, Ian Smith, in the hopes of creating an independent state governed by the black majority, but when he only agreed to a paltry 15 parliamentary seats the two friends quickly became enemies. Mugabe claimed that Nkomo had sold his people out. Racial tensions increased, causing Smith to pass the Law and Order Maintenance Act. Now anybody could be arrested and jailed without a trial - a disaster for black activists, and for democracy.

> “FARMS WERE ABANDONED, CAUSING AN ECONOMIC CRISIS, FOOD SHORTAGES AND UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG BLACK FARMHANDS”

The warring nationalists broke away into two opposing parties, Zimbabwe African People's National Union, or ZAPU, and the Zimbabwe African National Union, or ZANU. Mugabe's early support of ZAPU disappeared after three years, resulting in him establishing himself as secretary general of ZANU. Leaders of both organisations fought one another and the white minority in equal measure until in 1964 Nkomo, Mugabe and Sithole were all thrown in jail without trial. The tribal fighting had played right into the hands of the white, right-wing Rhodesian Front, who won the 1962 general election. Both ZAPU and ZANU were banned outright and, although never recognised by the UK, Smith claimed complete independence.

Almost 11 years later Mugabe was released but, far from dampening his spirit, his commitment to the cause had only increased. Sithole, who had shown signs of weakness while in jail, was removed and Mugabe selected as his successor. His first move was to join forces with ZANU's military wing, the ZANLA, in order to execute a violent campaign against Rhodesia's right-wing leaders. An all-out guerrilla war followed, with Mugabe setting up the largest faction in Mozambique.

By 1976 ZANLA's guerrilla army were ready to return to Rhodesia, resulting in a brutal battle with

THE LANCASTER HOUSE AGREEMENT

In 1979, Nkomo and Mugabe met Conservative Party politician Peter Carington for peace talks in London. In return for an end to the Rhodesian Bush War the British offered to send British Governor Christopher Soames to oversee a fair and democratic election with a view to handing over control of the country to a black-majority party. Rhodesia would be renamed Zimbabwe, reflecting its black heritage, but equally important was the stipulation that white-owned land was to be protected. Both the UK and the US would provide financial aid, giving the new government the means to purchase large swathes of land for the black villagers. 20 parliamentary seats were to be protected for white politicians in order to develop unity among Zimbabwe's people, and, rather more cynically, to keep an eye on things. In this way a new democratic black majority government could emerge but at the same time the white minority retained its political and economic position.

Nkomo appreciated the opportunity to end the violence, but Mugabe baulked at the notion. He had longed for a military overthrow and saw the ceasefire as a sign of weakness. Nonetheless, the Lancaster House Agreement was signed and Mugabe's bloodlust was put momentarily on hold.

GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC
FRANCE

the rich white landowners. Farms were abandoned in favour of fighting, causing an economic crisis, food shortages and high unemployment among the black farmhands, who immediately joined forces with the ZANLA. Chaos ensued, resulting in the deaths of at least 30,000 people.

Meanwhile, Mugabe reached out to sympathetic world leaders for support, travelling to the Soviet Union, Cuba, Italy and China. During radio broadcasts he called for his people to take up arms and rid his country of the white minority with violence, distancing himself from Nkomo's peaceful talk of negotiation and moderation. Mugabe wanted bloodshed and war. In 1980, and with a new political party, the ZANU-PF, Mugabe began his electoral campaign amidst cries of voter intimidation and terror tactics. Somehow, whether by adoration or fear, he intended to win, and by February of that year Mugabe was elected an MP. Initial panic was quelled by talks of 'racial reconciliation'. All people, both black and white, could live in harmony in the newly formed Zimbabwe – or so he claimed.

With financial aid pouring in from the UK and the US, things began to calm down. However, just beneath the surface the tension between Nkomo's Ndebele tribe and Mugabe's Zimbabwe National Army was becoming untenable, ultimately leading to the Matabeleland massacres. Between 1983 and 1987 Mugabe began a brutal military campaign to crush the Ndebele living in Matabeleland by sending a crack troop, known as the Fifth Brigade, to the villages. Trained by the North Koreans to be utterly ruthless in their methods, the Fifth Brigade were made up of Shona tribesmen and therefore zealously loyal to Mugabe.

Thousands of so-called dissidents were rounded up and sent to 're-education' camps while others were executed where they stood. Men and women were forced to dig their own graves and surviving families were made to dance on the graves of their departed loved ones. Pregnant girls were executed in front of uncooperative villagers and their stomachs opened up and defiled. Over 20,000 unarmed civilians were massacred in Mugabe's name. The Zimbabwean government denied the atrocities outright, claiming the estimated lives lost was little more than propaganda designed to undermine black majority rule. As interrogation centres were set up to accommodate the increased use of torture, the massacres were given a new name, 'Gukurahundi', meaning 'wind that sweeps away the chaff before the rains'. Its sentiment was ominous and the people feared that the extended period of brutality, rape and death would never end.

It mattered little that the country's economy was growing, since the fear of death was ever present and, although education for the Zimbabwean children had improved, unemployment had also risen. The differentiation between the rich and poor was widening and corruption among the elite was creating an undercurrent of resentment. A combination of drought and the army's closure of all local stores instigated mass starvation among the people of south Matabeleland, allowing Mugabe to carry out his long-term goal of a one-party state, the price of which was country-wide famine.

Having quelled his black enemies, Mugabe turned his attention to the rich whites still living in Zimbabwe, a hangover from the country's days as a colony. On 19 March 1992 he passed the Zimbabwean Land Acquisition Act, allowing the government to confiscate any farm it desired. This was a poorly timed attack of the white farmers, since the famine was fully under way and food production naturally faltered as a result of his actions. Having spent a vast fortune on buying food from the international market to feed its starving

OPERATION MURAMBATSVINA

A plan that proposed to enhance the lives of thousands of Zimbabwe's people that left nothing but suffering in its wake

Also known as Operation Restore Order, Murambatsvina, meaning 'move the rubbish', was a government campaign set up to rid the country of its slum areas. Mugabe claimed that the operation, beginning in 2005, was designed to deal with illegal housing and criminal activity while limiting the spread of infectious diseases. It would clear away the squalor allowing room for new and improved sanitation and cleaner living conditions. This, he announced, was an 'urban renewal campaign'. The Zimbabwean Police Commissioner elaborated on its purpose, stating that it was meant to "clean the country of the crawling mass of maggots bent on destroying the economy".

Bulldozers were sent in to demolish the homes of the country's poorest members. Thousands of innocent people were displaced and forced to move away from the towns into rural areas where the government could keep a watchful eye on their movements. Cynics duly noted that areas marked for clearance tended to be inhabited by those who openly opposed Mugabe's rule. In this way opposition party strongholds were systematically obliterated. Non-governmental organisations within the country, such as the church and various legal institutes, loudly condemned the policy, while the UN reported a clear violation of international law.

A house is destroyed in Chitungwiza during Operation Murambatsvina

people, the government's coffers quickly emptied, but power-hungry Mugabe was too caught up in his elitist regime to listen to advice.

The 'bread basket of Africa' was being systematically starved, but through vote rigging and shameless intimidation Mugabe won a further landslide victory, maintaining his position as president. But the people were frightened and the growing unrest started to appear in the shape of riots and strikes. When Nkomo passed away in 1999, leaving the people of Matabeleland heartbroken and vulnerable, Mugabe attempted to console them, saying, "Do not be afraid my government will neglect you now that your great leader has gone. My government will treat Matabeleland just as it did when Mr Nkomo was alive." Considering the appalling treatment that they had suffered at Mugabe's hands, his words did not placate them. In fact, it drove them to form an alliance with other small opposing groups. In this way the opposition began to gather in strength and numbers.

Further tragedy struck in the form of the HIV/AIDS epidemic that swept across southern Africa, and more money was spent during a futile war in the Congo. The country was in an economic crisis and its people were dying in their thousands. Mugabe, meanwhile, left for England, where he was spotted shopping in Harrods. The desperate Zimbabweans had finally had enough and slowly the tide began to turn.

On 15 February 2000 Mugabe suffered his first political defeat when he lost a referendum on a new constitution. Days later, a group of self-proclaimed 'War Veterans' began attacking the white farmsteads and threatening civil unrest if Mugabe didn't start paying out war pensions. Further bloodshed followed with the War Veterans systematically attacking white landowners, killing the farmers and setting fire to their homes. Three months later over 1,000 farms had been invaded and more than 19 people had been killed.

The Movement for Democratic Change capitalised on Mugabe's sudden unpopularity, forcing the dictator into a corner. He responded in the only way he knew how - with violence and intimidation. Having sacked the majority of white judges, he employed the War Veteran's leader, Chenjerai Hunzvi, to begin a campaign of terror against his opponents. Anyone registering an interest in the MDC was automatically targeted. Mugabe won the parliamentary election through sheer brute force, but his control was slipping away and the presidential elections were still to come. The World Bank and IMF refused to send any further aid. Europe quickly followed, vocalising its disgust at his violent tactics and contempt for democracy.

Youth brigades were set up, made from poor local boys who were offered militia posts in return for complete loyalty to their government. Their job was simple: intimidate MDC members into changing their allegiance. The European Union officials posted in Zimbabwe to ensure democracy

Mugabe meets Margaret Thatcher at 10 Downing Street

White soldiers display weapons captured from nationalist guerrillas

MUGABE BY NUMBERS

More than
20,000 CIVILIANS MURDERED
during the Matabeleland Massacres

He won
100,000 ZIMBABWEAN DOLLARS
in the national lottery in Zimbabwe

He spent over
$40,000,000
on his 90th birthday celebrations

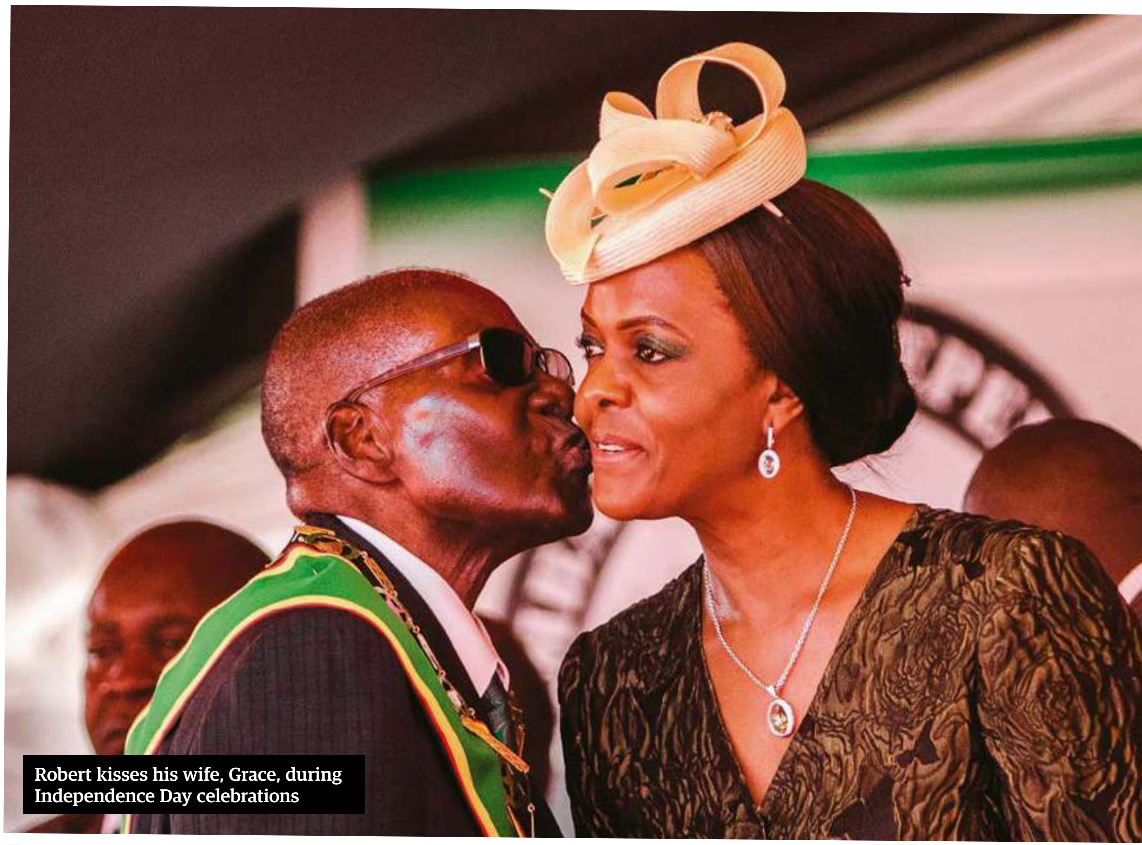
He was extremely well educated, earning
7 DEGREES
and a master's in law

Over
700,000 PEOPLE
have been adversely affected by Operation Murambatsvina

More than
150,000 CATTLE DIED
during the great famine

prevailed were pulled out of the country since each one found themselves on Mugabe's personal hit list. Chaos reigned supreme under an umbrella of police brutality and corruption. Polling stations based in MDC strongholds were removed and placed in ZANU-PF-friendly areas while the youth brigade visited the opposition in the night, carving MDC initials into their flesh. The day of the election was an unmitigated disaster. MDC supporters were held back in the hopes that they would get bored and return home. By the end of the process many had still not reached the front of the queue. Once again Mugabe had won despite the economic crisis, spreading famine and the fact that 200 people were dying of HIV/AIDS on a daily basis.

Years of hardship followed, but in 2008 a glimmer of hope emerged from the new parliamentary and presidential elections. For the first time Mugabe did not receive more than 50 per cent of the votes. Strangely, neither did the MDC, resulting in a rematch. Mugabe was both humiliated and furious. Once again the second election campaign was tainted with vicious attacks, leaving over 150 MDC supporters dead and many would-be voters too scared to leave their homes. However, this time the decision was made to enforce a power-sharing government between the parties, resulting in temperance and the development of a new constitution. Prices stabilised and the violence decreased, giving Zimbabwe the space to rebuild, but such a state of calm was not to last. Mugabe could never share his powerful grip on the country, and as the 2013 elections drew nearer he promised to "fight like a wounded animal". The Zimbabwean people knew exactly what that meant.


Robert kisses his wife, Grace, during Independence Day celebrations

"THE ELECTION WAS TAINTED WITH VICIOUS ATTACKS, LEAVING OVER 150 MDC SUPPORTERS DEAD AND MANY VOTERS SCARED"

Once again, whispers of vote rigging and threats of violence marred the elections, although, in public at least, Mugabe called for a peaceful campaign. MDC supporters kept quiet, and to the horror of the watching world Mugabe won a landslide victory.

Mugabe may have been an old man but he had no intention of relinquishing his vice-like grip on Zimbabwe. He was a man obsessed with power and all that came with it, so when rumours of ill-health started to spread he was quick to point out that he would remain in control until the day he died and refused to pick out a successor. For many, this appeared to be a threat rather than a promise.

Mugabe sits at the opening of the SADC Summit

The one-time hero of Zimbabwe's black population was no longer viewed upon so favourably, and as word of his wicked exploits began to be openly discussed Mugabe found himself alone. His appointment as a goodwill ambassador for the World Health Organization in 2017 was publicly revoked the following day after howls of indignation from his own starving people. Nelson Mandela described him as a politician who "despises the very people who put him in power and thinks it's a privilege to be there for eternity". A month later, he was sacked as leader of ZANU-PF and placed under house arrest for crimes carried out in his name. After many forceful discussions he finally agreed to resign, but only on the condition that he and his family were exempt from prosecution and would be awarded £10 million. So desperate were they to get rid of him they agreed.

Since his dramatic fall Mugabe has claimed that this event was nothing more than a coup d'état and therefore illegal. The Zimbabwean courts disagree. At last the curtain has come down on a highly controversial political career, a career that began bursting with promise. Mugabe invested heavily in health and education, overseeing a vast improvement in adult literacy. He fought for the rights of his people, giving hope, pride and self-respect where there had been none. For a while he portrayed himself as a champion of "the victims of imperialism". However, his insatiable ambition and overwhelming desire for power soon clouded his vision. Hatred for the wealthy colonists living in 'his' country fuelled his vicious behaviour and instigated a bloody dictatorship that will be forever remembered as Zimbabwe's time of starvation, massacres and fear. For all his grand rhetoric, Robert Mugabe's legacy is one of violation and betrayal.

SINGAPORE'S FOUNDING FATHER

LEE KUAN YEW

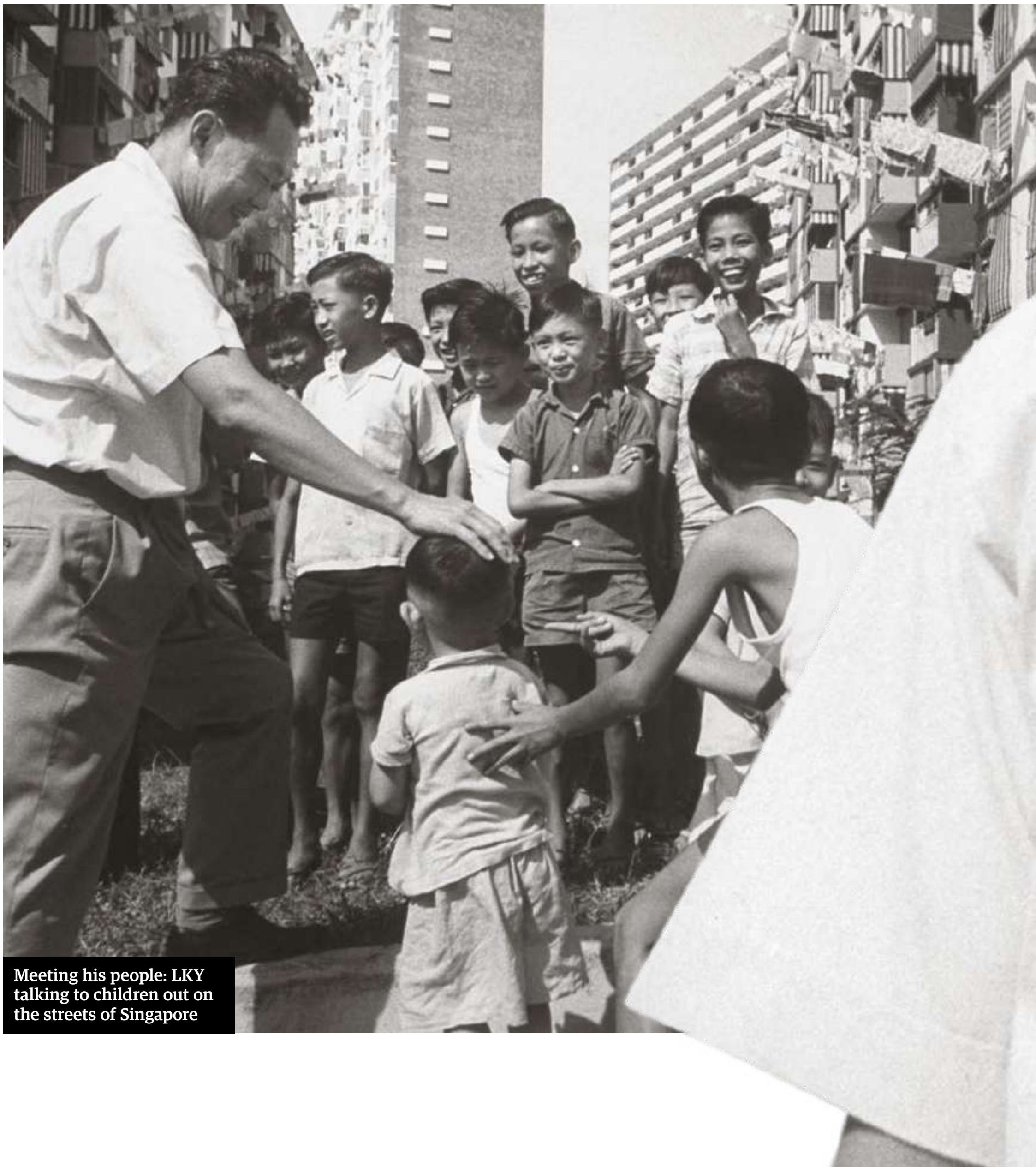
WRITTEN BY: **NELL DARBY**

Henry Kissinger described him as a man who wanted his state to "prevail by excelling", but did Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew succeed?

Lee Kuan Yew was a man who foresaw how technology would take over the world, changing how people would be governed because they would be able to get their news and information from their mobile phones and televisions. He welcomed diversity as he saw it as vital to a state's success: to embrace others from different religions and cultures would enable the best ideas to be traded and developed, thus aiding the country where that diverse population was based. Yet he also critiqued the idea of the poorest members of society being helped by the state, arguing that this would ultimately be unaffordable and lead to too much debt, and he was ambivalent about the benefits of democracy. He saw a strong leader as one who paid no attention to opinion polls and believed that humans were not born equal, so communism was doomed to failure. Instead, he argued that capitalism had a valuable function because it made individuals work harder.

It can be seen from these comments that Lee Kuan Yew, the first prime minister of Singapore, who governed for 30 years, had some complex, possibly contradictory and even prophetic beliefs, but under his rule the country developed from a tiny third-world nation to a first-world one, and he has since been described as Singapore's 'founding father'. The man popularly known as 'LKY' retained ministerial positions for over 50 years, was the longest-serving prime minister in history and remained an MP until his death in 2015.

Like many politicians and leaders, LKY was a lawyer by training. Born on 16 September 1923 to Chinese parents in the British colony of Singapore, in the late 1940s he relocated to Britain to study law at Cambridge. He graduated and was duly admitted to the Bar, qualifying him to practice law in Britain, but he instead chose to return to



Meeting his people: LKY talking to children out on the streets of Singapore

Lee Kuan Yew, the man behind Singapore's independence

WHO CONTROLS THE PRESS?

How LKY shackled the media

Back in 1971, LKY gave a speech arguing for press controls in which he stated that the freedom of the press should not override other concerns. He strongly believed that press freedom should not be more important than the needs of an elected government and that it shouldn't report stories that might damage the 'integrity' of the country. Later, he stated that he had to control the media in order to govern his country effectively and that he did not demand support if the press did not agree with his policies, only support where they agreed with him and could 'help' him get his message across to his people.

Although his speech was given nearly half a century ago, Singapore's media remains subject to monitoring, regulation and control. It has been argued that there is limited freedom of expression in the press and that controls ensure that political opposition is repressed through restrictions on how it is reported in the media.

However, it has been argued that the newspapers are complicit in reporting what the state wants them to report; they are not forced to report in a certain way but choose to, therefore providing the government with the reportage it wants without the need for an aggressive approach.

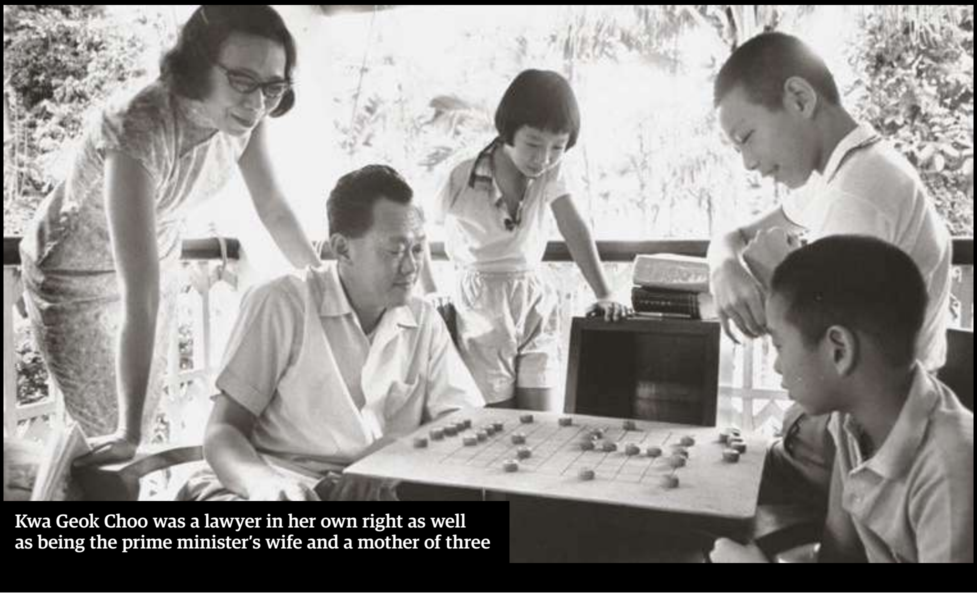
A newsstand in Singapore shows a wide variety of publications for sale, but what can be written is subject to regulation

POWER BEHIND THE 'THRONE'

They say that behind every great man stands a great woman, and that was certainly the case with LKY's academic wife

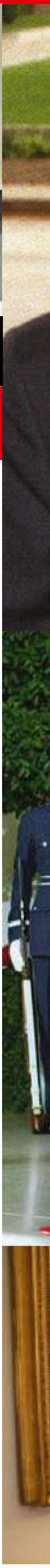
When he died in 2015, Lee Kuan Yew had been a widower for five years, his wife Kwa Geok Choo having predeceased him in October 2010. LKY was a high-achieving qualified barrister, but his family were also highly educated. Kwa Geok Choo, who married her husband in a secret ceremony in London in 1947 (they would remarry in Singapore in 1950), was also a lawyer. The couple met as students at Raffles College, where they would regularly come first and second in their exams. After the Second World War both travelled to England to study at Cambridge; Kwa Geok Choo graduated with a first from Girton College in 1949. When she returned to Singapore she became one of the country's few female lawyers.

Kwa Geok Choo co-founded a law firm in 1955 and worked there until 1987, although she continued with consulting work. She was one of the founding members of the People's Action party, fought for women's rights and was also involved in family planning issues. She had three children of her own. Sadly, she spent her last two years unable to speak following a stroke. After her death she was given a state funeral.


Kwa Geok Choo was a lawyer in her own right as well as being the prime minister's wife and a mother of three

LKY's clothes on display at the National Museum of Singapore

The National Museum of Singapore's LKY exhibition featured his barrister's wig



Singapore. He was also politically aware from a young age and questioned why his country was ruled in such an autocratic way: as a colony it had a governor and a legislative council, but most of the council were appointed rather than elected. They were also predominantly members of the Singaporean elite – rich Chinese businessmen.

On LKY's return home from Britain in the early 1950s there were rumblings from political activists about the need for constitutional reform, for Singapore to become an independent country. LKY had found his 'tribe', initially working with these activists to try and challenge how the country was run before launching his own party, the more radical People's Action Party. He became the party's secretary-general in 1954.

The following year the country saw a new constitution, making the majority of council seats elected. However, when elections followed there was disappointment: the Labour Front Party, which had been founded by people LKY had worked with, won 13 seats, but his own People's Action Party won a paltry three. Was LKY's dream of having a key role in his country's affairs dead before it began?

He refused to think so. Instead, he travelled to England as part of a Singaporean delegation aiming to demand self-rule from London. Although the delegates tried to negotiate they failed; civil unrest resulted back home. A year later LKY again travelled to England as part of another delegation; in 1958, he helped negotiate a self-governing status for Singapore and a new constitution was drafted. As a result of this elections were held in the summer of 1959 in which LKY stood for election. He argued against colonialism and communism but for both social reform and a closer relationship with neighbouring countries. His party won 43 out of 51 seats and Singapore became largely self-governing. LKY now became the first prime minister of this new state.

As prime minister Lee Kuan Yew thought about how he could improve his newly self-governing Singapore. He brought in a five-year plan that aimed to achieve urban renewal through the building of new housing, to improve the economy through industrialisation and to improve the education system. On a wider scale he also suggested merging Singapore with its neighbour Malaysia; when Malaysia in turn suggested a new Federation, taking in Singapore but also two other countries, Sabah and Sarawak, LKY held a referendum. The majority favoured the proposal, and so in 1963 Singapore duly became part of the Federation of Malaysia. LKY's party then won a subsequent general election, and he himself got a second term. He soon started campaigning to permanently end British rule in Singapore.

His efforts were realised partly because of the failure of the Federation of Malaysia. Tension between the different ethnic groups and nationalities within the federation led to rioting, most notably the bloody Sino-Malay race riots of 1964, which claimed 22 lives. In August 1965 LKY signed a separation of the Federation and Singapore's full independence, despite being disappointed by the failure. He believed that Singapore and Malaysia were 'connected by geography, economics, ties of kinship', and, perhaps motivated by concern as to what would happen now – being leader of a newly independent state whose natural resources were largely dependent on Malaysia – he disappeared, holing up on a remote island where he was wracked with insomnia. Parliament had not been convened and so there was in effect little governance until he returned six weeks later.

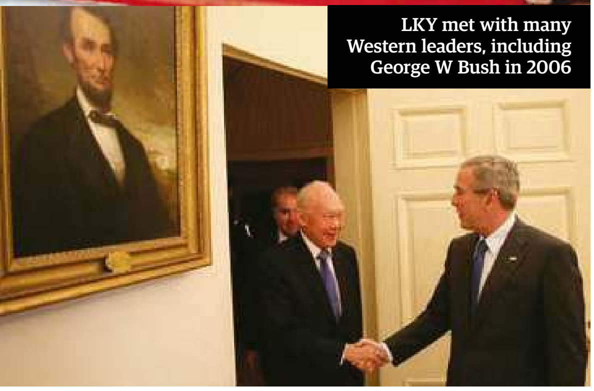
Back in control, LKY entered world politics again, with Singapore joining the UN and then the Association of South-East Asian Nations, strengthening its position as an independent country. He made a concerted effort to construct and promote an identity for the country, one based on multiculturalism and religious tolerance, with legal remedies available for those who incited religious or ethnic violence. LKY also made efforts to improve Singapore's economy, encouraging foreign investors and developing the country as an international centre for finance. New industries were also launched, including a national airline.

Lee Kuan Yew in old age. He lived to 91

LEE KUAN YEW
1923 - 2015
Y YOUR SOUL REST IN PEACE
GPD

Flowers were left to the former prime minister on his death

The Reagans met the Lees in Washington in 1985



LKY met with many Western leaders, including George W Bush in 2006

Alongside these developments - and a clampdown on corruption - were more controversial measures. A family planning campaign was launched in the 1960s to encourage couples to be sterilised after having two children, and families with more than two received fewer incentives. Another campaign was launched to encourage Singaporean men to marry female graduates; LKY had expressed concern that many well-educated women remained unmarried and sought to highlight the 'benefits' they could offer men. He also ignored the 'two child' campaign when it came to educated women, incentivising them to have more. Unsurprisingly, the women he was targeting were offended by his views, and the two child campaign resulted in a diving birth rate that led to all married women - not just graduates - being encouraged to have larger families.

> **"HE CONTROLLED THE MEDIA AND RESTRICTED PROTESTS, SEEKING TO HAMPER OPPOSITION BY BRINGING LIBEL SUITS AGAINST THEM"**

It wasn't just babies LKY was focused on; he was also concerned with the education of these babies once they became children. He was also a believer in the corporal punishment of anyone who misbehaved, whether a child at school or an adult accused of a crime. As British rule had given Singapore this punishment, it both continued it and expanded it once his country became independent. Caning became the punishment for an increasing number of offences, including drug usage and illegal immigration - in 1994 it was even used on an American teenager accused of vandalism, and the resulting press coverage shed light on this punishment. LKY, however, remained a staunch believer in the need for corporal punishment as a means of control.

His was a long political career, but LKY knew when it was time to leave his country in the hands of others. He had led his party to success in seven consecutive elections, but in November 1990, aged 67 and by now the world's longest-serving prime minister, he stood down. However, he did not quite finish his career, instead becoming an advisor to the new government with the title of 'senior minister' and remaining as secretary-general of the PAP for a further two years. He also continued to give speeches and interviews and published a book about the importance of learning languages - in his case, Mandarin.

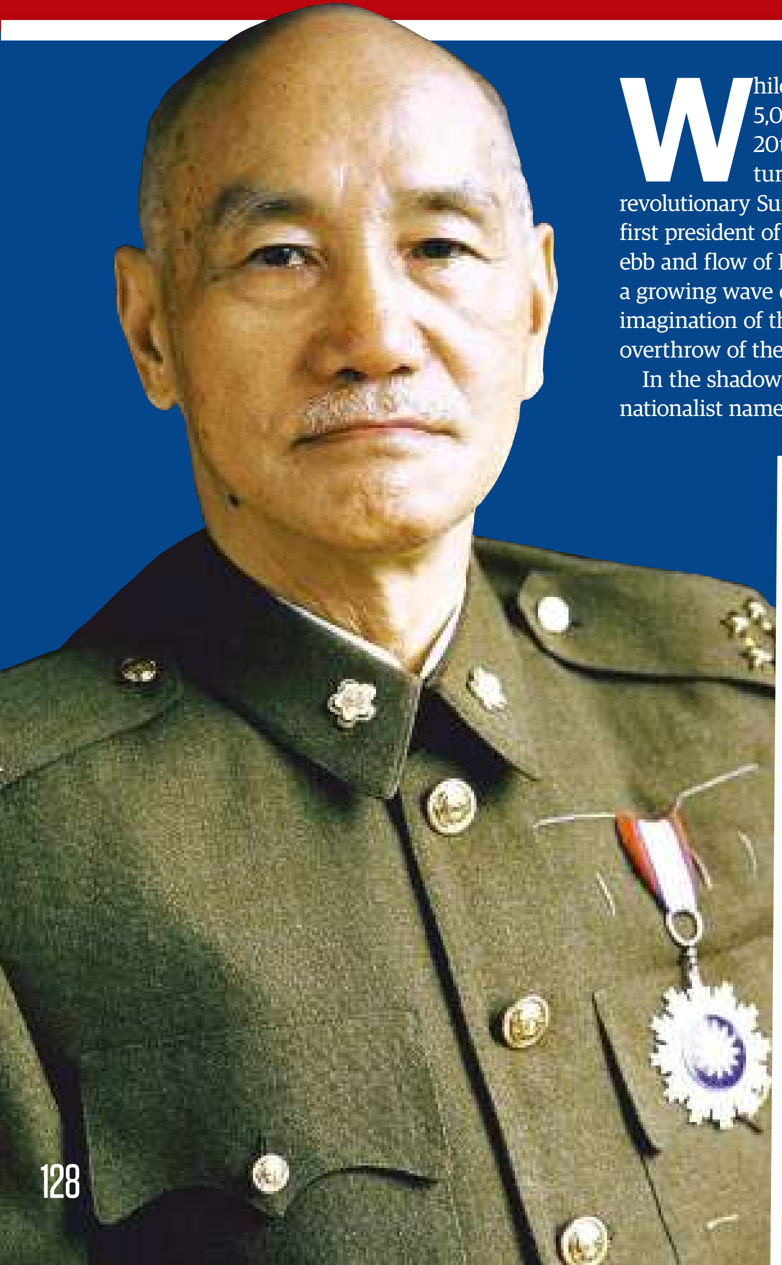
Lee Kuan Yew died in 2015 at the ripe old age of 91, and his death saw a week of national mourning in Singapore, with over a million Singaporeans visiting his body, which lay at Parliament House. LKY left a substantial legacy. Under his rule Singapore had become a multiracial, first-world country. He had made English the country's common language, deliberately in order to benefit trading with the West, while also making school children bilingual to preserve their sense of identity and their mother tongue alike.

On the other side, he controlled the media and restricted protests, seeking to hamper opposition by bringing libel suits against those who disagreed with him, although he argued that the rule of law was necessary for economic wellbeing. He claimed Singapore was a meritocracy yet promoted a system of elitism where ethnic Chinese had more power than those from Malay or Indian backgrounds. His government, and the country's civil service, was said to have avoided the corruption endemic in some other countries, yet nepotism still thrived. On his death he left behind a country that still had problems but had also achieved much - a country he undoubtedly loved.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK AND MODERN CHINA

Leading the Kuomintang, or Chinese Nationalist Party, Chiang Kai-shek ruled his country for more than 20 years but lost power to the communists under Mao Tse-tung

WRITTEN BY: **MIKE HASKEW**



While the history of China dates back 5,000 years, the first half of the 20th century was one of its most turbulent periods. Statesman and revolutionary Sun Yat-sen became the father and first president of the Republic of China amid the ebb and flow of European colonial influence and a growing wave of nationalism that captured the imagination of the Chinese people and led to the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty.

In the shadow of Sun Yat-sen, a young nationalist named Chiang Kai-shek grew in stature and influence among his peers. With Sun's death in 1925, Chiang assumed leadership of the Chinese Nationalist Party, popularly known as the Kuomintang. Chiang went on to unify modern China under his rule, battle a determined communist insurgency, fight the Japanese during World War II, gain favour with the Western powers, and ultimately lose control of his country and flee to the island of Taiwan.

As leader of the Republic of China, Chiang was a fervent anti-communist, ruthlessly suppressing dissent, and a charismatic, charming dictator

Chiang and Madame Chiang confer with Roosevelt and Churchill who favoured strong relations with the United States and Great Britain. Chiang was pragmatic, and at times brutal. He remained an international figure even after the communist overthrow of the nationalists and the proclamation of the People's Republic of China in 1949. He also remained the head of the nationalist government in Taiwan – a government that the United States long recognised as the legitimate voice of all of China – until his death in 1975.

“AS THE MOST POWERFUL POLITICAL LEADER IN CHINA, CHIANG SET OUT TO FULFIL SUN YAT-SEN'S DREAM OF A UNIFIED COUNTRY”

Chiang Kai-shek was born in the eastern coastal province of Chekiang on October 31, 1887. His father, Jiang Zhaocong, was a prosperous salt merchant and farmer who died when the boy was only eight years old. Chiang later wrote that his mother, Wang Caiyu, was the “embodiment of Confucian virtues,” alluding to the Chinese religious and philosophical tradition of Confucianism. A mischievous and precocious child, Chiang became interested in the military at an early age. In 1905, at the age of 18, he entered the Paoting Military Academy in northern China, and a year later travelled to Japan and enrolled at the Tokyo Shinbu Gakko in preparation for entry into the Imperial Japanese Army Academy. When his schooling was complete, Chiang enlisted in the Japanese Army, serving from 1909 to 1911.

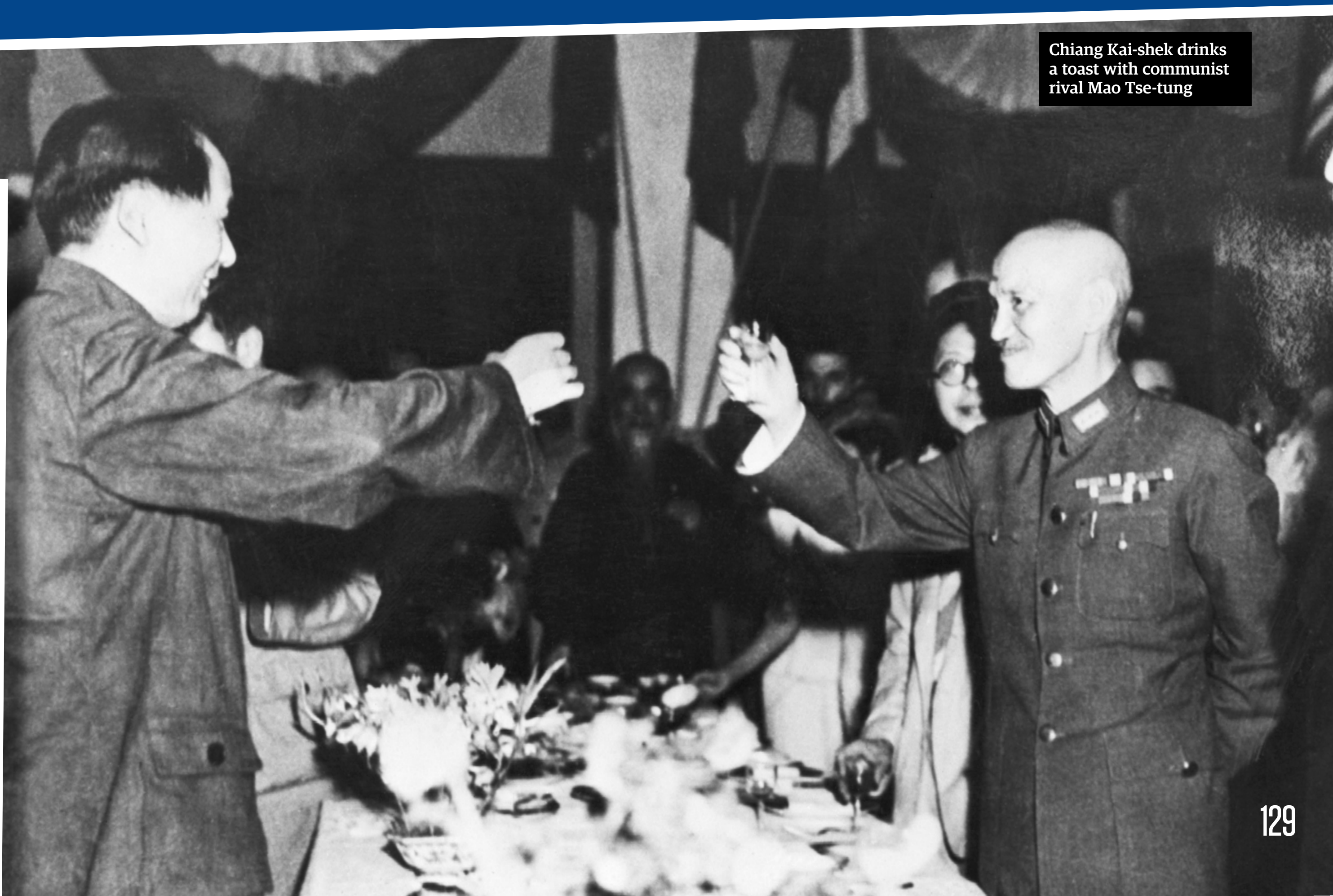
During his time in Japan, Chiang was initiated into the revolutionary party of Sun Yat-sen at the recommendation of Chen Chi-mei, a fellow student who also hailed from Chekiang. When armed revolution against the Manchu Dynasty broke out in the autumn of 1911, Chiang returned to China and fought in several engagements. Years of unrest followed the revolution, and Chiang divided his time between the city of Shanghai and safe haven in Japan. By 1918, Sun Yat-sen had survived a period of obscurity to again rise to prominence. When Sun reached the city of Canton, Chiang joined him there and became a member of the Chinese Nationalist Party. Amid a continuing power struggle, Chiang remained loyal to Sun and gained the latter's lasting trust.

Once Sun Yat-sen had consolidated his grip on the government, Chiang's role gained greater prominence, and he was named Sun's chief of staff. In 1924, Chiang founded the Whampoa Military Academy in Canton and set about establishing a formidable nationalist army. During the preceding months he had travelled to the Soviet Union, and much of his organisational structure and training regimen were patterned after those of the Soviet Red Army. Soviet military advisors supported Chiang, and the communist nation sent supplies to the new nationalist army.

Meanwhile, Sun Yat-sen expanded the appeal of the Kuomintang and allowed Chinese communists to become members of the nationalist party. Only after Sun's death did the communists and more conservative elements within the Kuomintang begin to splinter. Chiang prevailed in the struggle for power that followed, and Soviet support was a key element in his victory. Ironically, Chiang embarked on a systematic and brutal purge of communist elements within the Kuomintang, setting the stage for the confrontation that would precipitate his own downfall years later.

As the most powerful political leader in China, Chiang further set out to fulfil Sun Yat-sen's dream of a unified country. While extinguishing the communist opposition within the Kuomintang, he sent nationalist troops to occupy the cities of Shanghai and Nanking in the spring of 1927. He quickly brought the heavily populated cities and provinces of southern China under the control of the Kuomintang, but fiercely independent warlords defiantly ruled vast territories in northern China. Nationalist troops succeeded in bringing most of these restive areas under control, and by 1928 Chiang Kai-shek had proclaimed himself the leader of a new centralized government in Nanking.

As China's head of state, Chiang instituted a program of reforms that touched every aspect of Chinese society. He advocated a revival of Confucianism in an effort dubbed the 'New Life Movement' that sought to unify the people in a wave of moral and cultural revitalisation. He



Chiang Kai-shek drinks a toast with communist rival Mao Tse-tung

instituted economic and educational reform as well, while attempting to establish a national language called 'Guoyu' to replace the many dialects spoken across the immense country.

While his centre of power tended to be in China's heavily populated cities, the communists were persistent and drew support from rural areas, the peasantry that made up the vast majority of the Chinese population. Chiang brutally crushed communist opposition in Shanghai. On 12 April 1927, his nationalist army killed hundreds of communist sympathisers in the city in an event that became known as the Shanghai Massacre. Chiang also meted out criticism and repression of capitalist elements within Chinese society as it served his political purposes.

CHINA'S MOST POWERFUL WOMAN

On December 1, 1927, Chiang Kai-shek married Soong Mei-ling, the younger sister of Sun Yat-sen's widow. Soong became the first lady of China and one of the most influential political and diplomatic forces in Chiang's government for years to come. Madame Chiang, as she was known, initiated the New Life Movement of the 1930s and served in a legislative role. She became a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. When the Allies entered World War II, she became a key diplomatic voice for the nationalist government, exerting both charm and hardline pressure with American military and government leaders.

During the war years, she made several trips to the United States to solicit support for the nationalist government. She was featured on the cover of Time magazine three times, and China's first couple were named the magazine's 'Man and Wife of the Year' in its January 3, 1937, edition. In 1943, she became the first Chinese national and only the second woman to address a joint session of the US Congress. During her years in Taiwan, she was an advocate for several global charities. Following her husband's death, Madame Chiang emigrated from Taiwan to New York. She died there on October 23, 2003, at the age of 105.

Madame Chiang Kai-shek delivers a radio address thanking the American people for their support of China during the long war with Japan

But the communists refused to go quietly. They decried an elite element within the nationalist army, characterised Chiang's regime as corrupt, and declared their own government as the legitimate power in China. They even established their own nation within a nation, the Chinese Soviet Republic. By 1934, Chiang appeared on the brink of a decisive military victory in the protracted civil war. During the Fifth Campaign his forces nearly surrounded the communist army. Mao, however, was warned that his army was in peril, and conducted an orderly retreat during the epic 'Long March'. During the withdrawal, Mao became the undisputed leader of the communist movement that would eventually topple Chiang from power.

Chiang also conducted intermittent military campaigns against recalcitrant warlords in northern China. These operations sapped the strength of his military and proved costly to the national treasury.

In 1931, a serious external threat emerged. Japanese troops invaded the northern province of Manchuria, annexed the region, and established the puppet state of Manchukuo. Initially, Chiang chose to focus on the communist threat to stability rather than the foreign invasion. Many of his supporters were alienated by this decision. While the Japanese exploited territorial gains in China, Chiang's allies wavered and then took action against their leader to force him to prioritise the fight against the Japanese.

Then, in December 1936, Chiang travelled to northern China to coordinate a renewed offensive against the communist armed forces and their newly constituted state. Several of his generals had become disgruntled with the continuing fight against the communists while the Japanese were threatening even greater territorial incursions in China. On 12 December, General Yang Hucheng led several commanders in kidnapping Chiang. Among the other leaders was Zhang Xueliang, whose troops had been in the front line in a recent battle against the communists while his home province of Manchuria was still brutally occupied by the Japanese.

Chiang was held by his generals for two weeks in an episode that became known as the Xian

Chiang stands beside Chinese leader Sun Yat-sen in 1924

Chiang Kai-shek, strongman and political leader, salutes nationalist troops

China's first couple chats with American General Joseph Stilwell

Incident. When Chiang emerged from captivity, he had changed his tune, advocating a tenuous alliance with the communists against the invading Japanese. Still, he sought retribution, and after he returned to the capital at Nanking Chiang ordered Zhang to be placed under house arrest, while his co-conspirators were rounded up and summarily executed.

The following year, the Japanese launched a major invasion of China, igniting the Second Sino-Japanese War. Although they would never prove capable of subjugating the entirety of their vast neighbour on the Asian mainland, the Japanese were successful in capturing large swathes of territory, occupying major Chinese cities and terrorising the populations in areas they controlled. Japanese troops seized Shanghai in a bloody three-month campaign that ended in November 1937. During the fight, Chiang's elite troops trained at the Whampoa Academy were decimated. More than 200,000 Chinese soldiers, many of who had also been trained under German military advisors, were killed, wounded or captured.

When the Japanese took control of Nanking, Chiang and his government fled to Chungking in southwestern China. Japanese troops committed atrocities on a colossal scale in the former capital city, killing and pillaging indiscriminately in a rampage that is known to history as the 'Rape of Nanking'. Nevertheless, Japanese ambitions of conquering the whole of China within months of their invasion were quashed amid the continuing resistance of Chiang's forces and their temporary allies, the communists.

The Chinese stood along against their Japanese enemies for four years. Then, in 1941, the Allied powers went to war with Japan, and Chiang was hailed as a hero in the West, a committed partner in the fight to defeat the common enemy. During the course of World War II, the Chinese tied down more than a million Japanese soldiers at any given time, weakening the Japanese military's ability to resist in other areas of the Pacific and the Asian continent. Still, the lingering suspicions and mistrust between the nationalists and communists led to a chilling of relations and an eventual rupture of the convenient partnership by 1941. Some observers have indicated that Chiang was reluctant to commit his armed forces against the Japanese, counting on the United States and Britain to win World War II in the Pacific and preserving his own military might for the renewal of the civil war with the communists, which he knew would come.

Despite Chiang's commitment to the Allied cause, direct aid from the United States never reached the levels that he requested. Furthermore, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill never trusted Chiang, and Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin was wary of the potential difficulties that a strong China might pose for his postwar designs in Asia. However, Chiang did achieve a significant measure of recognition for China's contribution to the victory over Japan in World War II. He became a member of the Big Four along with US President Franklin D Roosevelt, Britain's Churchill, and Stalin of the Soviet Union. Eventually, China became a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council.

When World War II ended in 1945, Chiang's difficulties were far from over. A resumption of the civil war between the nationalists and communists, which had ebbed and flowed since the 1920s, loomed. During World War II, Chiang had begun to lose whatever support the peasantry had given to him, primarily due to his early focus on fighting the communists rather than the Japanese, a perception of widespread corruption in his administration, and his continuing support for big business, major landowners, and the well-to-do. The communists, on the other hand, appealed to the peasantry as liberators. In December 1945, General George C Marshall led an American mission to China to invigorate dialogue between the nationalists and communists. While Marshall hoped to cobble together a coalition government, the effort failed.

A year after the end of World War II, civil war erupted once again. Through perseverance and force of personality, Mao Tse-tung forged a communist juggernaut in the rural areas, and to complicate matters Chiang made several serious

A CONVERSION OF CONVENIENCE

When Chiang Kai-shek married Soong Mei-ling, he was 11 years older than his bride and fresh from divorcing his first wife. The prospect of the union did not please Soong's mother, and the most contentious aspect of the relationship was Chiang's Buddhist religion. Pragmatic as ever, Chiang provided proof of his recent divorce to his mother-in-law, swore to discontinue trysts with his concubines, and vowed to eventually convert to Christianity, a religion that he would share with his wife and her family. Chiang did explain to his mother-in-law that he would convert gradually, and that the renunciation of his old faith would take some time rather than being "swallowed like a pill." Soong gave her husband a copy of the Bible, which he studied and read thoroughly twice before officially converting to Christianity. Three years after their marriage, he was baptized and became a member of the Protestant Methodist denomination. Chiang's religious conversion was politically beneficial, as it created a closer alliance with the family and the legacy of Sun Yat-sen. However, some historians have concluded that his change of heart was genuine, his Christian faith was actually strong, and that he believed Christian principles reinforced those of Confucianist morality.

Chiang rides in a parade with President Dwight D Eisenhower

mistakes in handling his armed forces. Swiftly, the communists asserted control over an estimated 100 million Chinese people. By 1948, major population centres were coming under communist control. Mukden fell to Mao in November. Communist forces occupied Peiping, the future capital of the People's Republic of China, in January 1949.

With Chiang's control of the failing government slipping away, the United States found itself in a quandary. Asia had become a focal point of the emerging Cold War, and though Chiang and the nationalists were seen by many Western observers as a bulwark against communism, the US withheld substantial economic and military aid during the civil war because of apparent widespread corruption in Chiang's administration. On 21 January 1949, Chiang resigned the presidency of China amid a deteriorating military situation and growing lack of confidence in his leadership. Li Tsung-jen took the reins of government, such as they were, but the communist tide was too much to overcome.

Chiang and the remnants of his nationalist government fled to the island of Taiwan, where he established an authoritarian regime that nevertheless provided some appeal to the West as a defensive bastion against the spread of communism in Asia. The sense of worry in the West concerning the rise of a communist regime in China was heightened when war broke out on the Korean peninsula in 1950 and a Marxist insurgency under Ho Chi Minh in French Indochina threatened to destabilise the whole of Southeast Asia.

With his government established in Taiwan, Chiang began to implement some of the economic and social programs that had been unsustainable on the mainland - probably due to the vastness of China and the number of constituencies that were often at odds with his purposes. By the mid-1950s, the nationalist government was enjoying the fruits of an economic boom. Prosperity validated Chiang's policies, and he was lauded as the architect of a new generation of Chinese capitalists and free market entrepreneurs. In 1955, the United States and Chiang's government signed an agreement guaranteeing the defence of the island nation. The agreement was particularly aimed at the communists, who still considered Chiang and the nationalists a real threat.

For more than 20 years, the United States and many other nations continued to recognise Chiang's regime as the legitimate government of China. However, as time passed it became increasingly difficult to ignore the economic power of the communist People's Republic. In 1972, President Richard Nixon made a landmark visit to communist China, holding talks with Mao and Premier Zhou Enlai. The meeting ushered in a period of détente, and relations between the United States and the People's Republic warmed - at Chiang's expense. When the historic meeting occurred, Chiang, a bystander, was over 70 years old, and his health had begun to fail. Among other alarming disclosures, Nixon agreed in principle that Taiwan was a part of greater China, implying that the island was ultimately a province of the People's Republic.

In May of that year, Chiang's son, Chiang Ching-kuo, was appointed premier of the Taiwanese government. Three years later and 26 years after his arrival in Taiwan, Chiang Kai-shek died of a heart condition, kidney failure and pneumonia at the age of 87. A month of mourning was declared.

Chiang had been a central figure in the political and social life of China for nearly three quarters of a century. Despite his own character flaws, including a quick temper and callous willingness to suppress opposition with an iron fist if necessary, he managed to survive after the defeat of the nationalists in the civil war and establish an economic system that soared to a spectacular standard of living for the Taiwanese people, second only to that of Japan among Asian nations.

Perhaps even more remarkably, Chiang's government held fast to its seat in the UN Security Council until 1979, four years after his death. On 1 January of that year, the United States officially broke relations with Taiwan and extended formal diplomatic recognition to the People's Republic of China.

Shown in later years, Chiang ruled Taiwan for nearly three decades

THE BUTCHER OF BAGHDAD

SADDAM HUSSEIN

Discover how a nationalist revolutionary from a broken home rose to supreme power in Iraq and became a bellicose opponent of the West

WRITTEN BY: **SCOTT REEVES**

The baby born to Subha Tulfah al-Mussallat in the Iraqi village of al-Awja in April 1937 was named Saddam – Arabic for 'one who confronts'. It would prove to be a suitable name for the newest member of a family in turmoil.

Saddam's father, Hussein 'Abd al-Majid, abandoned the family six months previously and never saw his son. Nor would Saddam remember his 13-year-old brother, who died from cancer shortly after he was born. For three years, Saddam lived with an uncle, Khairallah Talfah, who was a devout Sunni Muslim and fierce nationalist, but he was returned to his newly remarried mother when Talfah was imprisoned for his role in a rebellion against the British in 1941. However, Hussein's new stepfather treated him harshly and, at the age of 10, he ran away to rejoin his uncle shortly after Talfah was released from prison.

Similarly to the Hussein family, the country of Iraq was also in a state of unrest. Arab nationalist movements were growing and Hussein was influenced by his uncle Talfah, choosing to join the Arab nationalist Ba'ath Party at the age of 20. The following year, King Faisal II was overthrown and a republic declared. Although the Ba'athists initially supported General Qasim's coup, they quickly turned against him due to his failure to join Nasser's United Arab Republic, a short-lived union of Egypt and Syria.

Hussein first rose to prominence during a Ba'athist assassination attempt on the life of Qasim on 7 October 1959. It failed, possibly due to the fact that one of the assassins – a young, trigger-happy recruit named Saddam Hussein – opened fire on the President's car prematurely. Despite

SADDAM'S SONS

Saddam intended that the Hussein family would continue to rule Iraq after his death. Initially his elder son, Uday, was the favoured successor. However, he was infamous for his criminal behaviour, including rape and murder. Uday survived an assassination attempt in 1996, but his slow rehabilitation gave his father an opportunity to sideline the loose cannon.

In 2000, Saddam named his second son, Qusay, as his new successor. He was appointed to run the elite Iraqi Republican Guard and Special Security Organisation, and entrusted to carry out the brutal repression of Marsh Arab and Shia rebellions. After the fall of their father's regime, both Uday and Qusay were killed in a six-hour firefight.

Qasim escaping with his life, Hussein's role in the assassination attempt would later be lionised in propaganda: he is said to have held the operation together in the confusion that followed, gouging a bullet from his own flesh before trekking across the country to safety in Syria.

Hussein spent four years in exile, only returning to Iraq in 1963 after Qasim was deposed and executed in a Ba'ath coup, but a second coup followed at the end of the year during which the new President, Abdul Salam Arif, purged his government of many Ba'athists. Hussein was arrested and imprisoned, accused of planning another presidential assassination attempt.

Escaping prison in 1966, Hussein began a rapid rise through the Ba'ath Party ranks. He was elected to the Iraqi Regional Command of the party, and soon after appointed Deputy Secretary. When the Ba'ath Party split into separate Iraqi and Syrian elements, Hussein created and controlled the Ba'ath security service. Within two years, the Iraqi Ba'aths led another coup that overthrew President Abdul Rahman Arif, who had replaced his brother as president. Hussein escorted Prime Minister Abd ar-Razzaq an-Naif out of the country at gunpoint – despite al-Naif actually supporting the coup – and was named Deputy President of Iraq.

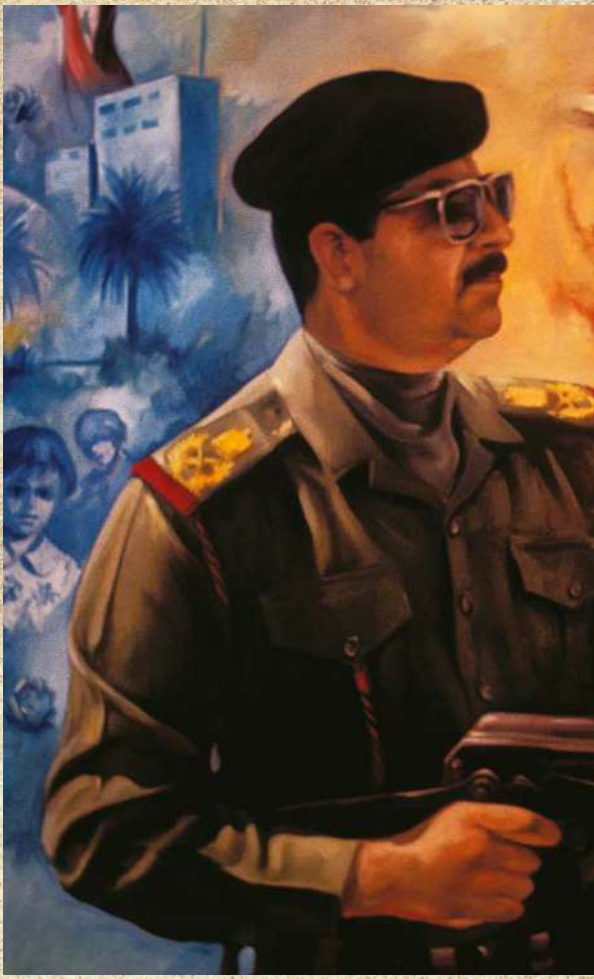
Considering the tumult of the past decade, the next few years saw Hussein bring about a remarkable period of political stability and economic growth. He nationalised international oil interests in Iraq on 1 June 1972 – a fortuitous decision considering that prices rocketed the following year during the 1973 Oil Crisis. Enormous wealth poured into the country, with annual oil revenues rising from less than a half billion dollars to tens of billions, allowing Hussein to implement a social security programme that was unprecedented in the Middle East: free schooling helped to bring illiteracy rates tumbling down and free healthcare improved life expectancy, leading to Hussein being given an award by UNESCO. New roads were built, new industries were encouraged with state aid and agriculture was modernised.

Hussein had become indispensable, even more so as the health of the elderly president, Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, began to fail. When al-Bakr resigned on 16 July 1979, Hussein was the only real choice as his successor. Yet within days, Hussein signalled that he would be ruthless in his quest to retain power. In a meeting of Ba'ath Party leaders on 22 July, Hussein announced that he had discovered a treasonous plot within the party, and had 68 people in the room immediately arrested. Some were executed by firing squad; the other alleged conspirators were forced to fire the guns. Hundreds more Ba'athists were targeted over the next few days until Hussein was happy that those who remained were loyal to him.

Throughout the rest of his 24-year presidency, terror was Hussein's first

Hussein, here with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, sought support across the Arab world in his conflicts with Iran and the West

The 1980 invasion of Iran soon descended into a vicious war of attrition that lasted nearly eight years



and foremost method of dealing with dissent. The Department of General Intelligence – or Mukhabarat – was commanded by Hussein's younger half-brother. In 1983, when 18 members of Ayatollah Mohammad Baqir al-Hakim's family were executed to intimidate the exiled senior Shia cleric into silence, it was the Mukhabarat who were responsible. In 1982, more than 140 people were executed in Dujail in reprisal for an assassination attempt on Hussein in the city. In total, it is thought that as many as 250,000 Iraqis may have been killed by their own government.

Hussein fostered a cult of personality, with countless portraits, posters, statues and murals displayed throughout the country. He would be portrayed in different ways to appeal to the various ethnic groups who called Iraq home: the traditional clothes of the Iraqi peasant, as a modern urban statesman in tailored suits, in Muslim headdress and robes, even in traditional Kurdish clothing. To demonstrate his appeal, Hussein ordered two referendums to be held on his leadership. The first, in 1995, saw him receive 99.96 per cent of the votes in a 99.47 per cent turnout. In the second, on 15 October 2002, every single one of the 11,445,638 ballots recorded a positive vote for the president – there was not even a single example of a spoiled or invalid paper.

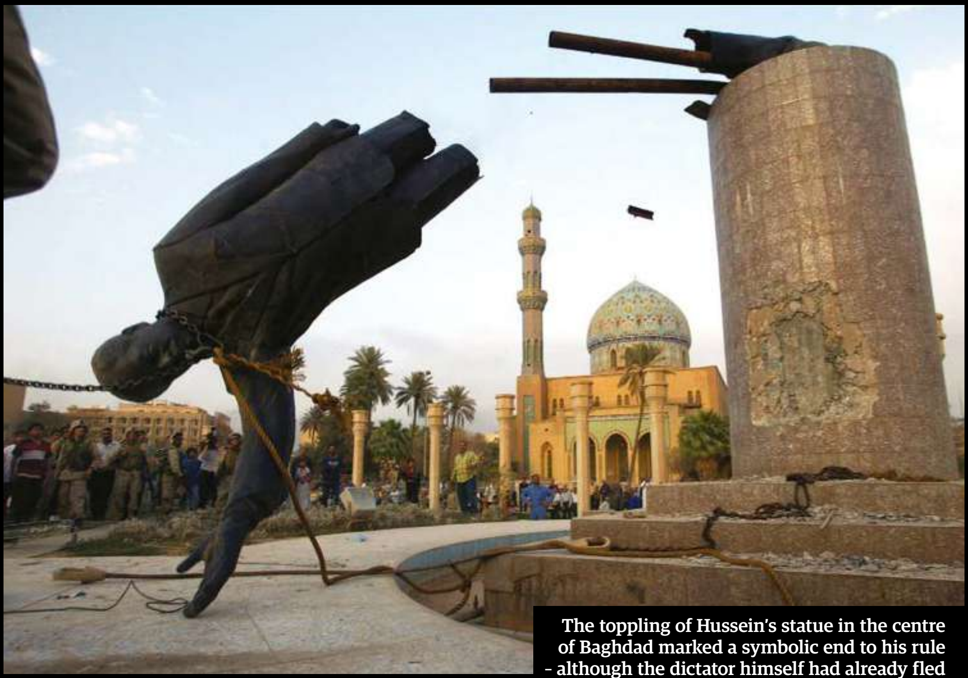
Hussein may have held Iraq in a steely grip, but his eventual downfall stemmed from an overly aggressive foreign policy. In the same year that Saddam became President of Iraq, the Iranian Revolution saw the Shah replaced by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. Hussein and Khomeini already had a strained relationship, and conflict between Sunni Iraq and Shia Iran seemed

OPERATION DESERT STORM

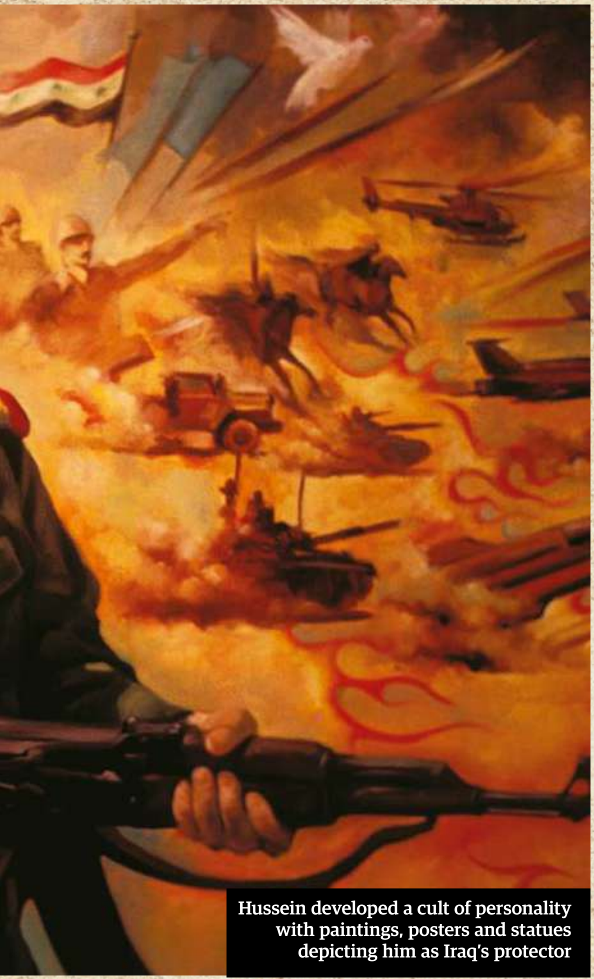
What began as a conflict over oil prices spiralled into the deadly First Gulf War - a humiliating loss for Iraq

Perhaps Saddam Hussein expected the world to stand aside when he invaded Kuwait in 1990, but the response of the UN was to launch military action. Led by US President George Bush and UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, a coalition of 35 countries embarked on a campaign to free Kuwait of the occupying Iraqis. A five-week aerial and naval bombardment commenced on 17 January 1991, with camera footage of laser-guided bombs destroying their targets broadcast around the world. The Iraqi response was to fire Scud missiles into Israel, hoping to provoke an Israeli retaliation that could potentially lead to Arab countries withdrawing from the coalition. However, the Israelis did not strike back and a coalition ground campaign began on 24 February. Kuwait was swiftly freed, although the Iraqi troops set fire to 700 oil wells in a scorched-earth retreat. The advance lasted for only 100 hours. With Kuwait liberated, the coalition's objectives had been met and a ceasefire was declared, bringing the conflict came to an end. Although Iraq had been decisively defeated, Hussein was allowed to remain in power and would continue to rule Iraq with an iron fist until another US-led coalition returned in 2003, this time under a different President Bush.

The coalition's air superiority meant that Iraq was unable to put up any serious resistance



The toppling of Hussein's statue in the centre of Baghdad marked a symbolic end to his rule – although the dictator himself had already fled


Hussein developed a cult of personality with paintings, posters and statues depicting him as Iraq's protector

Hussein's invasion of Kuwait would prove to be a strategic error, with the Iraqi forces no match for the US-led coalition

"HUSSEIN ORDERED CHEMICAL WEAPONS TO BE USED ON THE IRANIAN FRONT AND AGAINST KURDISH SEPARATISTS IN IRAQ"

inevitable. It was Hussein who struck first. On 22 September 1980, Iraqi troops crossed the border and invaded their neighbour, hoping to seize the oil-rich territory of Khuzestan. However, despite diplomatic backing from the USA, Europe and much of the Arab world, the war descended into a long battle of attrition. Hussein ordered chemical weapons to be used on the Iranian front and against Kurdish separatists in Iraq. When the Kurdish town of Habalja was targeted by mustard gas and nerve agents, up to 5,000 civilians died.

The stalemate came to an end after nearly eight years. The border had barely moved, but half a million people had been killed and the once-burgeoning Iraqi economy was left in tatters. Tensions increased with Kuwait, a small but wealthy nation to Iraq's south-east. This was because diplomatic pressure to persuade the Emir to write off $30 billion of debts to Iraq failed, while the country also led opposition to Hussein's plan to cut oil exports across the Middle East to force up the price. The deterioration in relations led Hussein to invade Kuwait on 1 August 1990, claiming it as a province of Iraq.

Perhaps Hussein hoped the USA and her European allies would allow him to get away with it - they had, after all, backed Iraq during the Iranian War, and considered Kuwait to be opposed to the controversial state of Israel. However, a US-led coalition began air strikes against Iraq in January 1991, followed by a ground invasion. Outnumbered and outclassed, Hussein's armies suffered a comprehensive defeat.

However, Hussein was allowed to retain the presidency. Domestic insurrections went unsupported by the coalition and were ruthlessly quashed. Economic sanctions caused hardship for Iraqis, but Hussein maintained absolute power just as firmly as he had before the conflict. He even gained support from many Arabs who decried Western interference in the Middle East.

Hussein would rule for 12 more years, and human rights abuses continued to be catalogued in Iraq, but not until after the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the USA was the Western world prepared to intervene again. President George W Bush included Iraq in his 'axis of evil' and declared that Hussein had a secret stash of weapons of mass destruction. With war looming, a worried Hussein cooperated with UN inspectors, and no evidence of prohibited weapons was found.

That did not stop a US-led coalition invading Iraq on 20 March 2003. Just as in the 1991 war, Iraqi resistance crumbled in the face of a superior foe, but unlike in 1991, this time the coalition pressed on in a quest to enact regime change. Baghdad fell within three weeks, but Hussein survived on the run until 13 December.

The former dictator, now sporting a beard, was plucked from a hole in the ground near ad-Dawr, a short distance from his birthplace. After being interrogated by US forces for six months, he was handed over to Iraqi authorities. They decided to prosecute him for the massacre in Dujail and, despite Hussein refusing to accept the court's authority, he was found guilty.

On 30 December 2006, the first day of Eid al-Adha, Hussein was hanged at an Iraqi Army base near Baghdad. Grainy mobile phone footage of the execution and its aftermath suggest that Hussein died amid a barrage of insults, that the hanging itself was botched, leaving Hussein with a wound in his neck, and that he may have been stabbed post-mortem. It was a humiliating end for the once-mighty dictator of Iraq.

Hussein's six months on the run came to an end near his birthplace

TEN MODERN-DAY DICTATORSHIPS

Not every country in the world enjoys the luxury of checks and balances against power…

BASHAR AL-ASSAD

The mild-mannered mass murderer

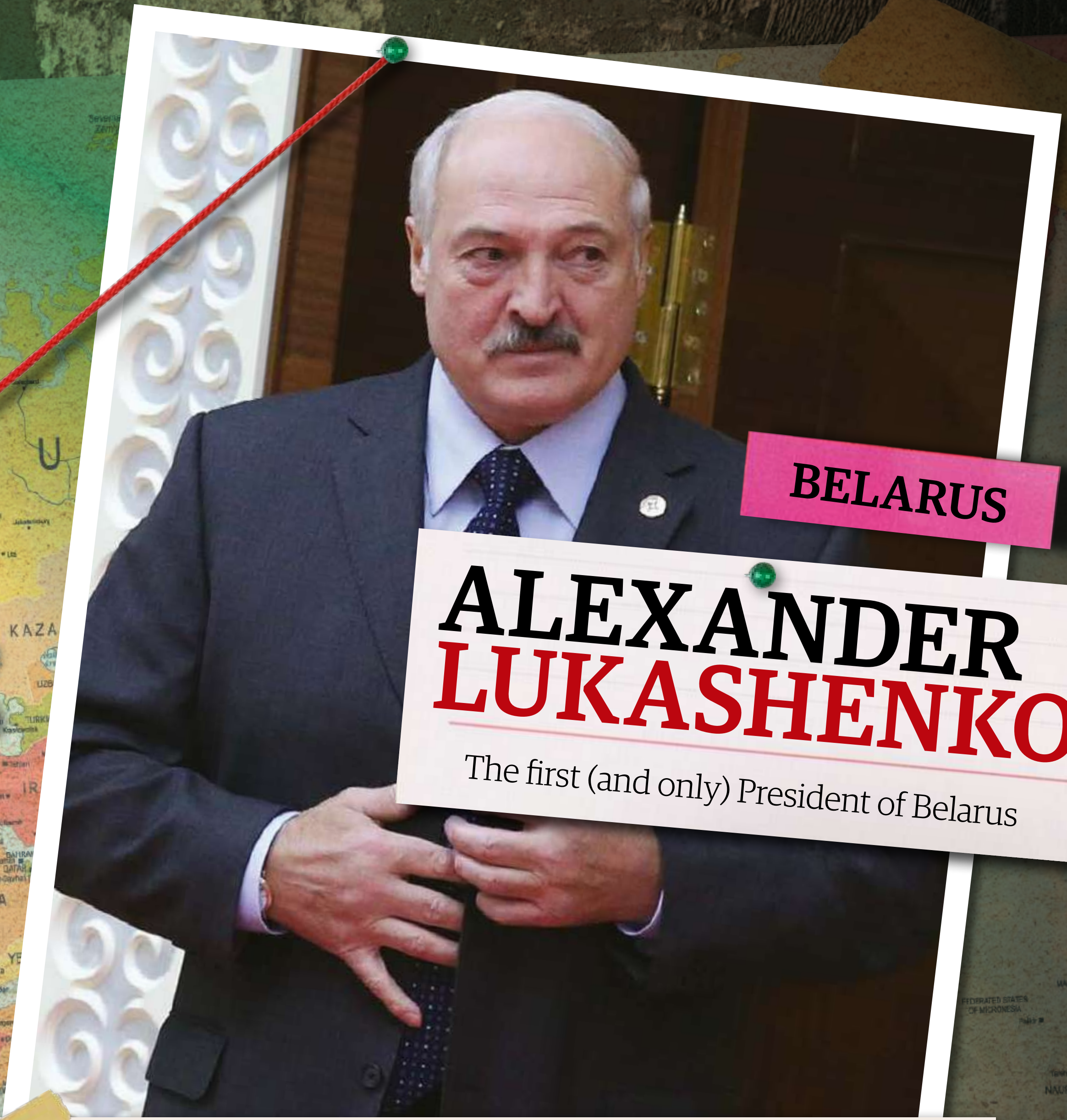
SYRIA

Born and raised in Damascus, Bashar Al-Assad attended university there, served as a doctor in the Syrian army, and studied to become an ophthalmologist at the Western Eye Hospital in London. When his older brother Bassel was killed in a car accident in 1994, Bashar was recalled to Syria to take over the role of heir apparent. He succeeded his father Hafez as President of Syria in 2000. Subsequent referendums on his leadership have been uncontested.

Initially viewed by many outsiders as a potential reformer, Al-Assad ordered the violent suppression of protestors during the Arab Spring uprisings, which led directly to the Syrian Civil War, beginning in 2011. The United Nations has since included his name in lists of war crime indictments. At war with his own people, Al-Assad is ultimately responsible for the destruction of whole communities by government shelling, and for the murder of journalist Marie Colvin, who was targeted using her mobile phone signal. Numerous deaths have been recorded in Syrian detention camps, including children as young as seven. In 2016, the head of a UN commission of inquiry on Syria, Paolo Pinheiro, told reporters, "The mass scale of deaths of detainees suggests that the government of Syria is responsible for acts that amount extermination as a crime against humanity."

During the Arab Spring, one of Al-Assad's ministers wrote to him saying, "The wild horse of revolution has arrived… without a knight. I would hope that you would be that knight." He opted instead for staggering brutality.

Barents Sea
SWEDEN
FINLAND
NORWAY
POLAND
UKRAINE
ROMANIA
Black Sea
TURKEY
GREECE
TUNISIA
LIBYA
EGYPT
SAUDI ARABIA
NIGER
CHAD
SUDAN
NIGERIA
ETHIOPIA
KENYA
GABON
ANGOLA
ZAMBIA
NAMIBIA
BOTSWANA
SOUTH AFRICA



BELARUS

ALEXANDER LUKASHENKO

The first (and only) President of Belarus

When Belarus gained independence from the Soviet Union in 1994, the pro-Russian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich was widely predicted to take on the mantle of president. In a shock turnabout, however, the independent populist candidate Alexander Lukashenko eventually won the election with more than 80 per cent of the vote. He remains in office – currently in his fifth term – despite subsequent elections that have been diplomatically described as "flawed" by official observers.

He came to power on a ticket of improving social welfare and revitalising the Belarusian economy, keeping most of the country's declining industries under governmental control, and succeeded to some extent in reducing unemployment. But the Belarusian currency has been devalued several times under his regime – most catastrophically in 2011 – and Belarus remains isolated from its neighbours Europe and Russia, maintaining a fractious relationship with both.

The US Congress imposed sanctions against Belarus in 2004 via the Belarus Democracy Act, which authorises assistance for political parties and non-governmental organisations working for democracy and human rights in Belarus. The Lukashenko government has been criticised for its persecution of opposition politicians, journalists and ethnic minorities.

> "BELARUS REMAINS ISOLATED FROM EUROPE AND RUSSIA, MAINTAINING A FRACTIOUS RELATIONSHIP WITH BOTH"

Lukashenko continues to hold all governing power in Belarus. The Belarusian House of Representatives in theory has the power to veto his choice of Prime Minister, but if they do this more than twice, Lukashenko has the right to overrule them. He wields absolute control over government spending, and appoints almost all members of his parliament's upper house, and almost all judges.

CUBA

RAÚL CASTRO

Fidel's less popular brother

Fidel Castro crashed to power on a revolutionary tide in 1959, establishing Cuba as a one-party republic, and the Communist Party as the official political party. When he finally stepped down due to ill health in 2011, his brother Raúl succeeded him. Raúl had already been serving as the President of the Council of State since 2008: a position also previously held by Fidel. Raúl stepped down from that position in April 2018, handing over to Miguel Diaz-Canel. It's the first time a Castro has not held the position in 60 years, but Raúl remains in place as First Secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba: the country's highest political position.

Considered a less charismatic leader than his brother, Raúl has nevertheless defied expectations by proving less hardline and more progressive, encouraging private initiative, reducing state spending, imposing limits on presidential terms (including his own) and courting foreign investment in Cuba. He also – at least under the presidency of Barack Obama – oversaw a thawing of Cuba's traditionally frosty relations with the United States. The rapprochement began with the establishment of new embassies in Havana and Washington.

Nevertheless, Raúl Castro was not elected, but continues to wield Cuba's maximum authority, with his state controlling most social and economic aspects of Cuban society, and the media operating under the supervision of the Communist Party's Department of Revolutionary Orientation (essentially its propaganda wing).

JOÃO LOURENÇO

The hamstrung reformer

Formerly a Portuguese colony, Angola finally achieved independence in 1975 following a lengthy struggle. The resulting new regime, the Marxist-Leninist People's Republic of Angola, supported by Cuba and the Soviet Union, was then the subject of a protracted civil war between the ruling People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the communist anti-insurgents, The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), who had the backing of the United States and Apartheid South Africa. One of the war's most infamous legacies is the landmines still left behind from the Battle of Cuito Cuanavale: the largest conventional armed battle in Africa since WWII. Finally eradicating UNITA in 2002, the state has been relatively stable since, although the country has been in economic crisis since 2014.

João Lourenço, formerly Angola's Minister of Defence and the Vice-President of the MPLA, became President in 2016, succeeding José Eduardo dos Santos, who held power for 38 years. He pledged to distance himself from his predecessor, revive Angola's economy and tackle nepotism in its government. But accusations of corruption continue to dog the MPLA under his leadership, with significant political change yet to be observed.

ANGOLA

JOSEPH KABILA

The President who wouldn't leave

CONGO

Violent protests met the announcements that Joseph Kabila had been elected for his second term as President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 2011. Official counts reported that a huge majority had actually cast their votes for opposition candidate Etienne Tshisekedi. Thousands of votes, it seemed, had been 'lost' and not included in the results. His term was due to have run its course by 2016, leading to further elections. Kabila, however, consistently argued for delays, with elections due in December 2018.

Kabila came to power in 2001 following the assassination (by his own bodyguard) of his father, President Laurent-Désiré Kabila. Congo has vast mineral wealth, but the country is notorious for corruption, inequality, and the armed conflicts that rage in many of its provinces. Millions of Congolese have been forced to flee their homes – although the Republic itself claims the figure is "only" 230,000.

Kabila has agreed to step down in the December 2018 elections, but will be replaced by former interior minister Emmanuel Ramazani Shadary: a Kabila loyalist with no following of his own, who will essentially be a proxy ruler for Kabila, and has been sanctioned by the EU for clamping down on protests. There has never been a peaceful transfer of power in Congo since gaining independence from Belgium in 1960, and furthermore, Kabila himself has declared his interest in running again in the 2023 elections.

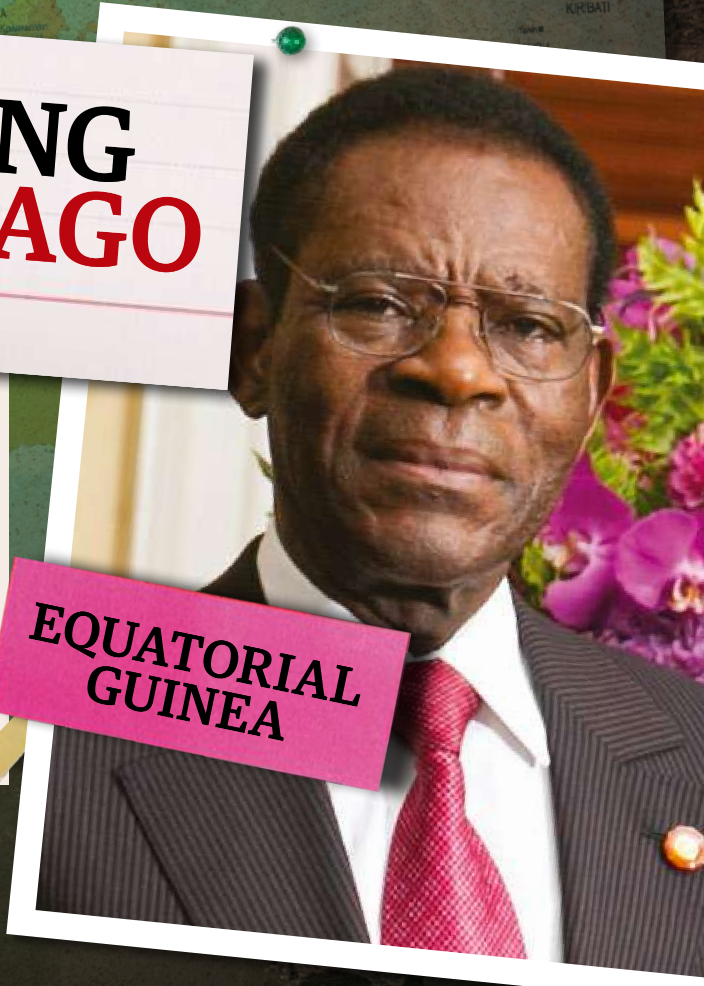
TEODORO OBIANG NGUEMA MBASAGO

He made himself a wealthy man, but at what cost?

Obiang was born into a family with a bloody reputation. His uncle Francisco Macías Nguema was elected Equatorial Guinea's first president after its independence from Spain, but Macías soon showed his true colours, and persecuted his political opponents. He pretty much declared himself a god of his people, and allegedly became so paranoid that he started killing members of his own family – including his brother. In 1979, Obiang decided that enough was enough, overthrew his uncle, and installed himself in power instead.

He relaxed some of his uncle's more ludicrous policies, such as the total ban on the Catholic church, but has clamped down even harder in other areas. Every 'election' since 1979 has been marred by allegations of fraud, voter intimidation and widespread corruption. In the 2002 election, Obiang apparently won 97 per cent of the vote, while political opponents withdrew from the race.

Obiang himself has come under international fire for siphoning off the country's oil revenue, which he classifies as a 'state secret'. Obiang and his son have been subject to an investigation seeking to find out whether their lavish properties in Paris and the USA, or their expensive cars and private jets, were bought with state funds. Meanwhile, over half of Equatorial Guinea's population lives in poverty.



EQUATORIAL GUINEA

NURSULTAN NAZARBAYEV

Central Asia's necessary evil?

KAZAKHSTAN

Starting life as a steel worker, Nazarbayev rapidly rose through the Communist Party ranks to become the president of the Kazakh SSR in 1990. Once it became apparent that Kazakhstan was going to become independent and strike out on its own, free of Moscow's domination, Nazarbayev grasped the opportunity with both hands. While he strengthened Kazakhstan's position in Central Asia and helped in the recovery of its economy, it came at a price – Kazakh elections have been riddled with corruption, fraud and undemocratic practices ever since.

In 2010, Nazarbayev appointed himself 'Leader of the Nation', and thus exempt from the two-term presidency rule (and indeed, prosecution). A year later, he seemingly won 95 per cent of the votes in the elections. Political challengers are not tolerated, and opposition-supporting newspapers have been threatened with violence.

Critics have lamented the poor state of human rights in Kazakhstan, claiming that Nazarbayev's opponents have been tortured and cowed into submission. Religious tolerance in the country is also extremely poor. But supporters have praised his anti-nuclear warfare stance – the issue is a very personal one, as the Soviet Union once used Kazakhstan as a nuclear testing ground – and argued that Nazarbayev acts as a stabiliser in an otherwise volatile region.

EMERSON MNANGAGWA

The strong arm of reform

ZIMBABWE

A long-time ally of infamous former president Robert Mugabe, Emerson Mnangagwa officially attained Zimbabwe's top office of President in August 2018. His election was viewed in some quarters as a significant step towards shedding Zimbabwe's reputation for corruption, reviving its economy and attracting foreign aid and investment. But official observers still opined that the country lacks a "tolerant democratic culture" where citizens can vote freely and all political parties are treated equally. Protests against Mnangagwa's election were met with a military crackdown during which six people were killed, leading potential international allies to withdraw their support pending further study of the country.

In an effort to deflect criticism of those events, Mnangawa launched an independent inquiry, although this descended into farce when military leaders denied firing on protestors, despite evidence to the contrary. Opposition leaders, such as the Movement For Democratic Change's Nelson Chamisa, have called the inquiry's impartiality into question. None of this has helped Mnangagwa to convince international observers that the bad old days of Mugabe are over, and Zimbabwe's economic crisis remains serious, with fuel and medicine shortages and skyrocketing prices. Mnangagwa's campaign slogan, 'Zimbabwe is open for business', now seems bitterly ironic.

HUN SEN

"A fully fledged military dictator"

CAMBODIA

In June 2018, Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen was declared a "fully fledged military dictator" by a Human Rights Watch report. The report outlined the "abusive and authoritarian political regime" over which he has presided since 1985 – making him the longest serving Prime Minister in the world. He has, according to HRW, "remained in power by creating a cadre of ruthless members of the security forces to implement his vision and orders". The report names the 12 military personnel who have been the "backbone" of his regime, "Cambodia's Dirty Dozen". Their strength makes a coup virtually impossible.

Hun Sen's official title is "princely exalted supreme great commander of gloriously victorious troops", and his use of force, already strongly in evidence against political opponents, protestors and journalists in the decades of his rule to date, only escalated in the run-up to elections in July 2018. Having dissolved the opposition party, the CNRP, in 2017, he faced no competition, and was therefore 're-elected' in a landslide, his Cambodian People's Party winning every seat in the National Assembly. Despite mass protests, he has declared that he will remain in power in Cambodia until 2025.

ILHAM ALIYEV

Organised crime in office?

AZERBAIJAN

Ilham Heydar oglu Aliyev was, in April 2018, returned to power in Azerbaijan for his fourth term since his initial election in 2003. It was the first election since a Constitutional Referendum in 2016, which extended the term of the presidency from five to seven years. Aliyev celebrated, his New Azerbaijan Party romping home with an apparent 86 per cent of the vote. It was hardly surprising, since a number of rival parties had boycotted the elections entirely, refusing to recognise their legitimacy. In a press conference the day after the election, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) announced that the elections had been undemocratic, with "widespread disregard for mandatory procedures, a lack of transparency, and numerous serious irregularities, including ballot box stuffing." Aliyev dismisses all criticisms of his regime as "smears", maintaining that Azerbaijan is a democracy with free and fair elections.

While Azerbaijan largely prospers, it has been accused of human rights abuses, including the murders of journalists and the suppression of free speech. Aliyev and his extended family have personally been accused of extensive corruption designed to line their own pockets, "systematically seize[ing] shares in the most profitable businesses: banks, construction and telecommunications companies, gold mining and other deposits," according to an Organised Crime and Corruption Reporting Project (OCCRP) report in 2012. Aliyev's three children alone own real estate in Dubai worth $75m.

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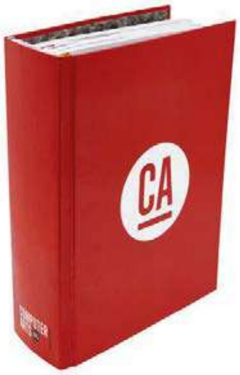

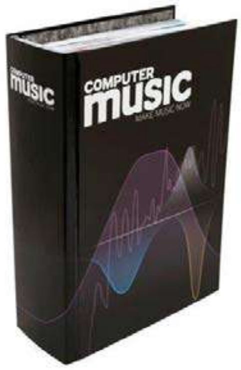
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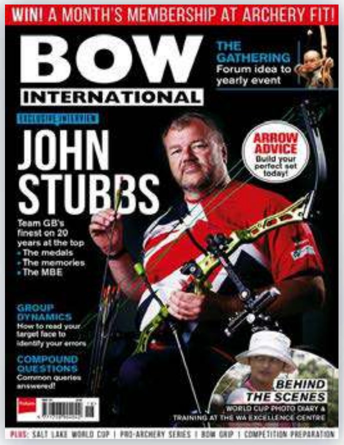
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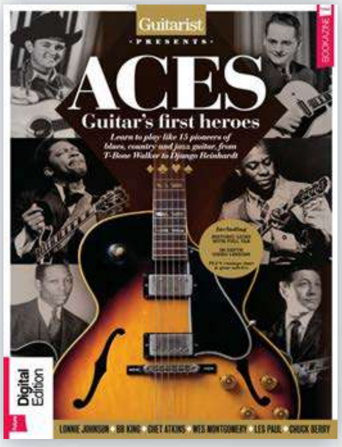
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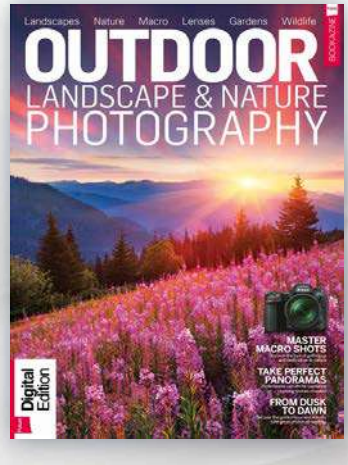
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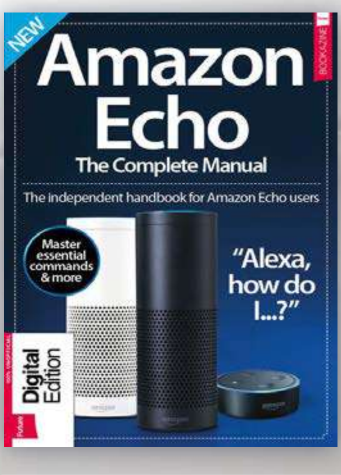
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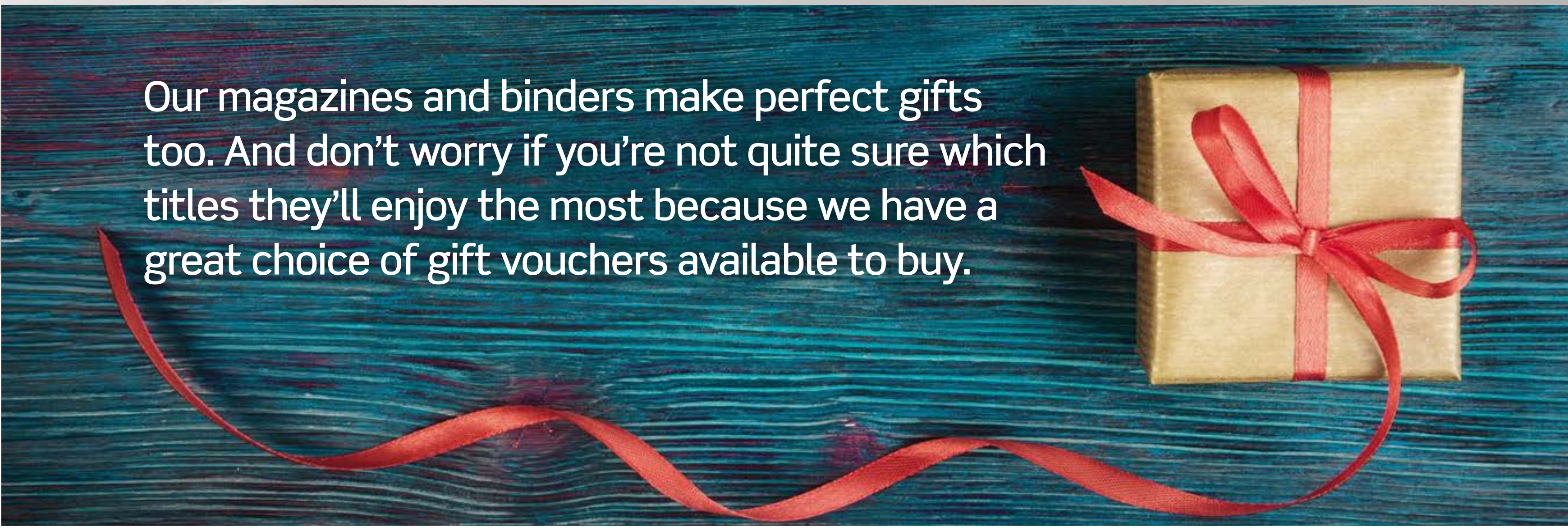

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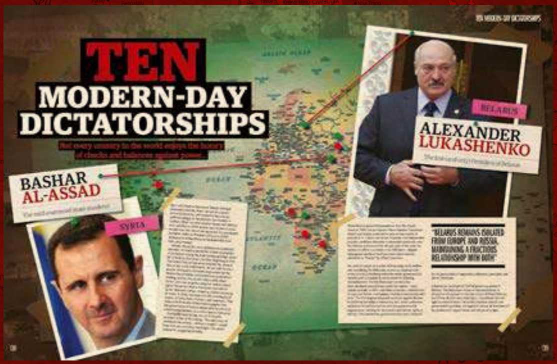
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